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The North Carolina Historical Review

Good Morning! Have you voted the White Man's Ticket?

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COVER: This election day cartoon by Norman E. Jennett appeared on the front page of Raleigh's *News and Observer* on November 8, 1898, and embodies the racist themes that the Democratic Party employed in its successful effort to regain control of North Carolina politics. During the post-Reconstruction period African Americans supported and found support in the Republican Party. In the 1898 campaign the Democrats pleaded for the restoration of "White Supremacy" and warned of the threat of "Negro Rule and Domination" if the Republicans remained in power. The Democratic Party's most important weapon was the purported threat of black men to the virtue of "Sweet [white] Womanhood." For a discussion of the changing situation faced by African Americans in the late 1890s, see Piero Gleijeses, "African Americans and the War against Spain," pp. 184-214.

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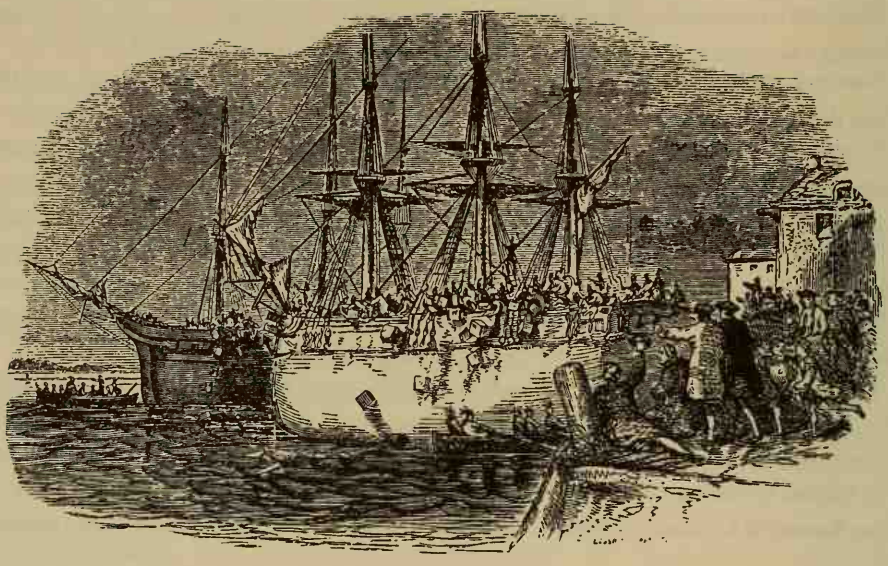

In the Boston Tea Party (December 16, 1773), American colonists protested the Tea Act (1773) that had given the financially ailing East India Tea Company a monopoly on the sale of tea in the North American colonies. In response, Parliament closed Boston Harbor to all shipping until the people of Boston paid the East India Company £18,000 for the tea that had been destroyed. The other colonies rallied to send food and other contraband goods to the "oppressed" Bostonians. By the end of 1774, the First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia; and, throughout the colonies, counties and towns began to form committees of safety to enforce the Congress's directives. Frontispiece engraving of the Boston Tea Party from Francis S. Drake, *Tea Leaves: Being a Collection of Letters and Documents Relating to the Shipment of Tea to the American Colonies in the Year 1773, by the East India Tea Company* (Boston: A. O. Crane, 1884).

The Committees of Safety and the Coming of the American Revolution in North Carolina, 1774-1776

ALAN D. WATSON

Less than a decade and a half after defeating their archenemy in the French and Indian War, the British colonials along the North Atlantic coast turned against their mother country to institute a revolution that culminated in independence and the formation of the United States of America. The Revolution was not undertaken lightly: it was a psychologically wrenching, traumatic experience for a people tied philosophically, materially, and emotionally to the "mother country" over which the "father," King George III, ruled. The colonials were true to their Lockean heritage, making every effort before 1775-1776 to air their grievances and seek accommodation with the British authorities before undertaking the momentous step of separation.

When the British government attempted to strengthen imperial control over the colonies at the end of the French and Indian War, the colonials objected. They protested a host of parliamentary acts, including laws that imposed taxes upon Americans, regulated more closely their trade, infringed upon their supposed right of trial by jury, and permitted the establishment of a British army of great magnitude in the provinces. The Americans organized in extralegal fashion, engaged in riots, formed the Stamp Act Congress, and resorted to the exertions of ultranationalistic groups called the Sons of Liberty. By 1773 the colonials had created committees of correspondence to gather and convey quickly news that affected colonial/imperial relations. At the end of the year the committees of correspondence seized upon a topic of intense interest—the Boston Tea Party crisis.

Parliament responded to the destruction of the tea by Bostonians with punitive legislation in 1774 that closed the port of Boston and altered the structure of Massachusetts government to vest more power in the royal governor. British troops were sent to Boston under the command of the newly appointed military governor, Gen. Thomas Gage. The cause of Boston became a rallying point for anti-British sentiment throughout the colonies, including North Carolina. In September 1774 twelve of the provinces held a congress in Philadelphia to consider an appropriate response to the British actions. From the meeting of the First Continental Congress, events led quickly to revolution—a resort to arms between colonials and British redcoats that began in April 1775 and culminated with the signing of the Declaration of Independence in July 1776.

Yet, revolution was not inevitable, certainly not in North Carolina where loyalist sentiment was pronounced.[1] At the outset the so-called patriots, or whigs, constituted only a minority of the American populace, and few of these men entertained any notion of absolute independence. Who or what was responsible for organizing and converting the whig movement, whether psychologically, politically, or militarily, into a demand for independence? In North Carolina the answer lay in the committees of safety—local, grassroots organizations in the towns and counties.

The committees of safety evolved mainly from the attempt of the Continental Congress in 1774 to compel the British to recognize American rights and rescind the objectionable parliamentary legislation. The Congress urged the adoption of the Continental Association, a series of resolutions embodying nonimportation, nonexportation, and nonconsumption agreements. Accordingly, the colonials intended to bring economic pressure to bear upon the British by refusing to purchase goods from Great Britain after December 1, 1774. Imports arriving after that date would either be stored or sold at public auction. In the latter instance the proceeds would be used to pay the costs of the importer, and any profit realized would be appropriated for the aid of the inhabitants of Boston. Anticipating a resulting scarcity of goods and the consequent probability of profiteering, the Congress forbade retailers to charge prices higher than customarily asked during the previous twelve months and instructed colonial manufacturers to sell their goods at "reasonable prices." Nonexportation became effective on September 10, 1775.

The Congress also declared that the colonials should adopt life-styles of industry, frugality, and morality that befitted a people contending for liberty and republican government. Specifically, the congressional representatives of the colonies hoped to encourage American manufacturing, particularly that of woolen goods, in order to replace a dependence on English imports. To that end the Congress sought to increase the number of sheep in the provinces as well as to promote the better breeding of the animals. Moreover, the Congress admonished the patriots to disavow such extravagances and dissipations as dancing, horse racing, gambling, and "other expensive diversions and entertainments." The Continental Congress urged the creation of committees of safety as a means for enforcing its mandates, especially the Continental Association. Towns and counties in the colonies were encouraged to create committees chosen by those residents who qualified to vote for legislative representatives. The committees would "observe the conduct of all persons" and publicize violations of the association. Thus, "foes to the rights of British-Americans" might be revealed and ostracized by friends of "American Liberty."[2]

1. Robert O. DeMond, *The Loyalists in North Carolina during the American Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940); Carole W. Troxler, *The Loyalist Experience in North Carolina* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1976); Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1965); Jeffrey J. Crow, "Tory Plots and Anglican Loyalty: The Llewelyn Conspiracy of 1777," *North Carolina Historical Review* 55 (winter 1978): 1-17; Laura Page Frech, "The Wilmington Committee of Public Safety and the Loyalist Rising of February, 1776," *North Carolina Historical Review* 41 (winter 1964): 21-33.

2. Edmund Cody Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (1941; New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), 46, 54-58. For the Continental Association, see Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History*, 2 vols. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), 1:84-87. More specifically, the Continental Association called for

The committees proved indispensable in effecting the Revolution, though their origin is moot. Organizations styling themselves committees of safety appeared in England during the Puritan revolution of the 1640s. Committees of safety emerged in Boston and New York in 1689 in the aftermath of the collapse of the Dominion of New England. More immediately, in the opposition to British policies after 1763, the American colonials developed a tradition of organized and extralegal protest in the creation of the Stamp Act Congress, the Sons of Liberty, and the numerous committees of correspondence that paved the way for the more radical committees of safety.[3]

Whatever their historical antecedents, the committees of safety in North Carolina emanated from meetings in towns and counties that elected delegates to the colony's First Provincial Congress, which held its opening meeting in New Bern on August 25, 1774. A gathering in Wilmington on July 21 consisting of residents of the southeastern area of the province, the Lower Cape Fear region, endorsed calls from various colonies for a continental congress but suggested that North Carolinians first hold a provincial congress to elect delegates to the Philadelphia meeting.[4]

Subsequent town and county meetings not only appointed the necessary representatives to North Carolina's First Provincial Congress in August 1774 but also adopted resolutions that anticipated actions taken by that body and by the Continental Congress in September-October 1774. The local gatherings expressed their opposition to British taxation and the Intolerable Acts; declared the cause of Boston to be that of all the colonies; called for a firm union of the colonies; encouraged domestic manufacturers; proscribed luxury and dissipation; and proposed punitive measures, principally nonimportation and nonexportation, to restore colonial rights. Significantly, at least

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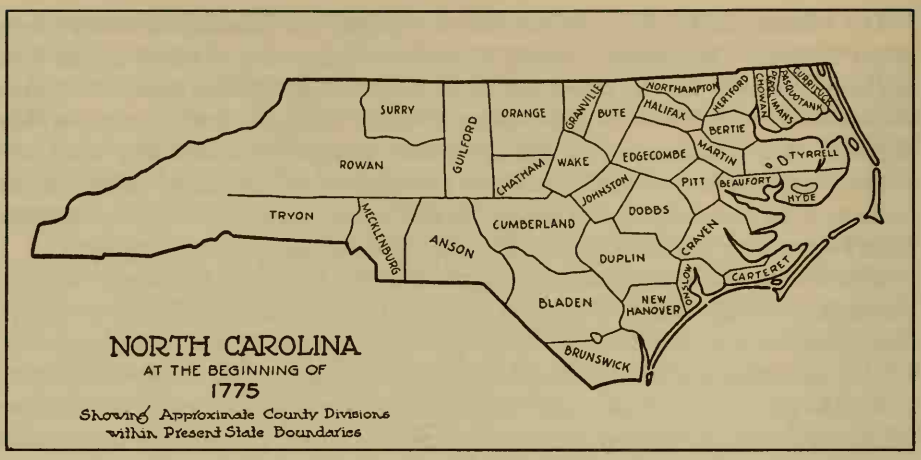
a ban on imports from Great Britain and Ireland, on East Indian tea from anywhere in the world, on molasses, syrups, coffee, and pimento from the British plantations and Dominica, on wines from Madeira and the Western Islands, and on indigo. Colonials were forbidden to export to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, though rice might be sent to Europe. Not all members of the Congress approved of the Association, however. Paul Smith et al., eds., *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, 2 vols. (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1976), 1:222n, 293-295; Bernhard Knollenberg, *Growth of the American Revolution, 1766-1775* (New York: Free Press, 1975), 154.

3. C. V. Wedgwood, *The King's War, 1641-1647* (London: Collins, 1958), 186-188, 405-406; Agnes Hunt, *The Provincial Committees of Safety of the American Revolution* (1904; New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1968), 159-170; Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., 1953); Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972); Richard D. Brown, *Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts: The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774* (1970; New York: W. W. Norton, 1976); Edward Countryman, *A People in Revolution: The American Revolution and Political Society in New York, 1760-1790* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 136-137. For North Carolina, see Penelope Sue Smith, "Creation of an American State: Politics in North Carolina, 1765-1789" (Ph.D. diss., Rice University, 1980), 66-73, 140-142, 163-164; Lawrence Lee, *The Lower Cape Fear in Colonial Days* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 245-252; Robert L. Ganyard, *The Emergence of North Carolina's Revolutionary State Government* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1978), 17-29; Lindley S. Butler, *North Carolina and the Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1776* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1976), 14-50.

4. Knollenberg, *Growth of the American Revolution*, 126-131; *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg [Purdie and Dixon, editors]), May 26, 1774; William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 vols. (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 1886-1890), 9:1016-1018.



Support for the patriot movement was widespread throughout the colony. In 1775 committees of safety had been formed in twenty-six of North Carolina's thirty-five counties. The most active of the committees were in Rowan, Pitt, Halifax, and Mecklenburg Counties. Influential committees were also established in the towns of Wilmington, Edenton, and New Bern. Map from David Leroy Corbitt, *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1950), 286.

two counties, Anson and Johnston, appointed standing committees to communicate with similar committees in other counties and with the North Carolina Committee of Correspondence.[5]

Formal committees of correspondence appeared as a result of action taken by North Carolina's First Provincial Congress. After adopting resolutions that boldly denounced British taxation and the Intolerable Acts, required nonimportation and nonexportation, and abjured East India tea, the First Provincial Congress proposed that each county select five sympathetic persons "to take effectual care that these Resolves be properly observed and to correspond occasionally with the Provincial Committee of Correspondence." In the early autumn of 1774, Rowan and Pitt Counties organized committees that fulfilled the intention of the provincial congress.[6]

Most committees, however, arose in response to the Continental Association proposed by the Continental Congress. In Wilmington on November 23, 1774, one of the first local committees of safety was organized "to carry more effectively into Execution the resolves of the late congress held in Philadelphia." On January 4, 1775, New Hanover County formed a committee, which later merged with that of Wilmington. Other active committees included those in the towns of New Bern and Edenton, and in the counties of Rowan, Halifax, Mecklenburg, and Pitt. Although Pitt County had earlier formed a committee, the group was reorganized after its members learned the details of the Continental Association. By August 1775 committees were present in at least twenty-six of North Carolina's thirty-five counties, including Cumberland, the

5. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1024-1027, 1030-1041.

6. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1044-1048 [First Provincial Congress], 1072-1075, 1079-1080 [Rowan], 1075, 1080-1081 [Pitt].

stronghold of the Highland Scots, and Surry, a bastion of the former Regulators, neither of which was disposed to support the Revolution.[7]

The committees organized formally, established procedural rules for proper decorum and the transaction of business, and elected a chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary or clerk. The Rowan committee used the services of a doorkeeper; Wilmington-New Hanover, that of a messenger. The Surry committee required members to speak one at a time, to address the chairman when offering a motion, and to remain in session until given permission to depart. Any member who became drunk, swore, or engaged in any other disorderly behavior subjected himself to a fine. The Pitt committee forbade a member to interrupt another or to speak more than twice on one subject of debate without permission. It also admonished all members to speak as briefly as possible.[8]

From the beginning the number of committee members varied among the counties and towns: Rowan County elected thirty-seven; New Hanover County, twenty-five; Pitt County, twenty-two; and Wilmington, nine. Although Bute County required twenty-five members for a quorum in July 1775, thirty-one committeemen attended the September meeting.[9] On occasion, however, many committees experienced difficulty in securing enough members for a quorum. When the joint Wilmington-New Hanover committee failed to muster a majority at its February 20, 1775, meeting, the members present reminded the absentees in writing that they had shirked their patriotic duty. To combat the problem of absenteeism, some committees attempted to establish regular meeting dates and prescribed fines for those who did not appear. Both Pitt County and the town of Wilmington finally decided that the number of their committeemen was insufficient and called for elections to augment the incumbents.[10]

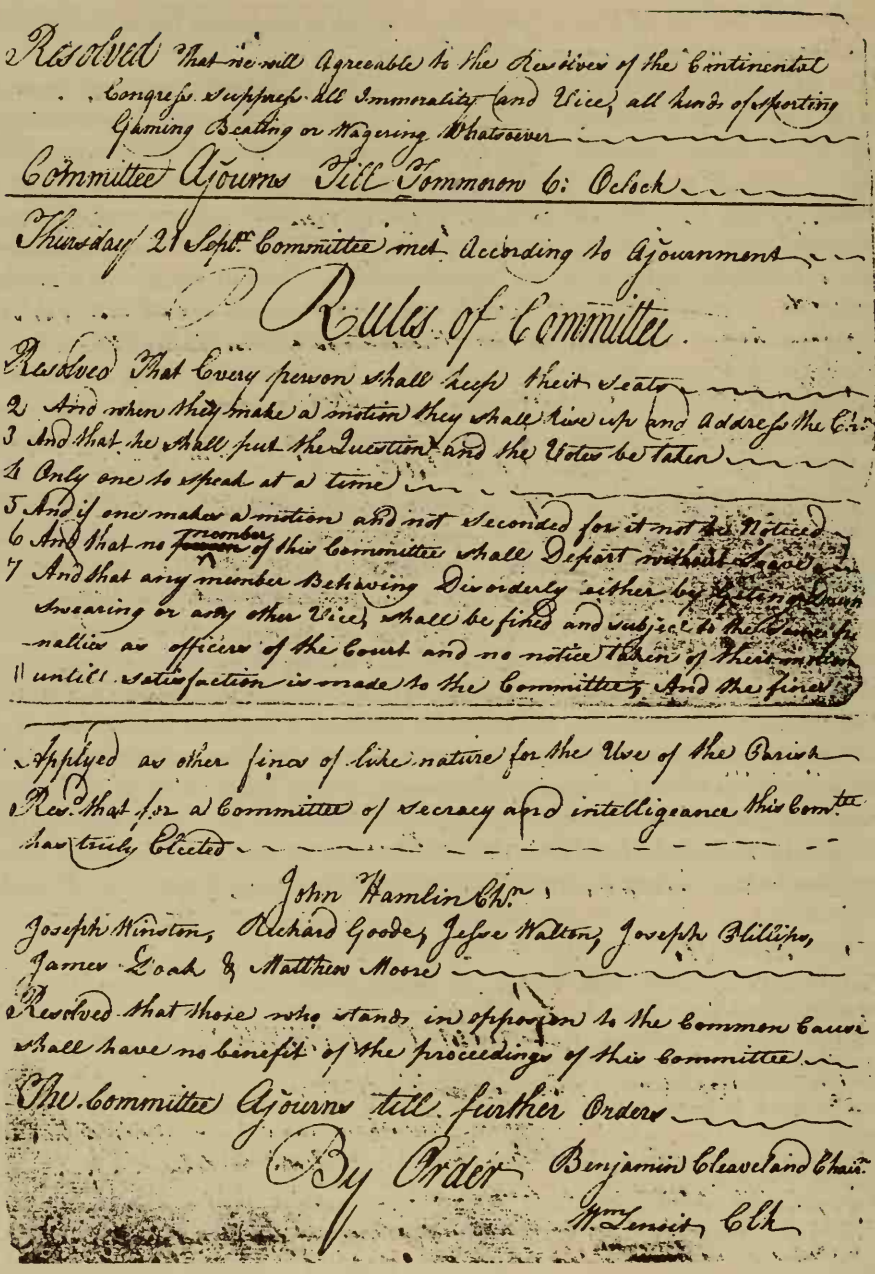
At first the safety committees worked autonomously; however, subsequent provincial congresses in North Carolina and the organization of district committees of safety eroded that independence. In April 1775 the Second Provincial Congress approved the Continental Association and reiterated the need for the local committees of safety. Four months later, in late August 1775, the Third Provincial Congress established a

7. Leora H. McEachern and Isabel M. Williams, eds., *Wilmington-New Hanover Safety Committee Minutes, 1774-1776* (Wilmington: Wilmington-New Hanover County American Revolution Bi-centennial Association, 1974), 1, 8; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1088, 1095 [Pitt]; Charles Grier Sellers Jr., "Making a Revolution: The North Carolina Whigs, 1765-1775," in J. Carlyle Sitterson, ed., *Studies in Southern History in Memory of Albert Ray Newsome, 1894-1951* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 40; Samuel Johnston to [Joseph Hewes], June 27, 1775, Hayes Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. Also inhabiting Surry County was a large community of Moravians—pacifist German Pietists—who preferred to remain aloof from the growing hostilities. Adelaide L. Fries et al., eds., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, 11 vols. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1922-1969), 2:847, 875, 877-879; Hunter James, *The Quiet People of the Land: A Story of the North Carolina Moravians in Revolutionary Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Old Salem, Inc., 1976), 32-54.

8. Saunders, Colonial Records, 10:311 [Rowan], 254-255 [Surry], 62 [Pitt]; McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 12, 20.

9. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 8; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1095 [Pitt], 10:279-280 [Rowan]; Bute County Committee of Safety, *Bute County Committee of Safety Minutes, 1775-1776* (Warrenton: Warren County Bicentennial Committee, 1977), 24, 30-31.

10. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 16, 22, 23, 26-27, 37; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:14-15 [Pitt].



Resolved That we will Agreeable to the Resolves of the Continental Congress suppress all Immorality and Vice, all kinds of Sporting Gaming Beating or Wagering Whatsoever

Committee Ajourns Till Tommorow 6: Oclock

Thursday 21 Sept.r Committee met According to Ajournment

Rules of Committee.

Resolved That Every person shall keep their seats
2 And when they make a motion they shall rise up and Address the Ch.n
3 And that he shall put the Question and the Votes be taken
4 Only one to speak at a time
5 And if one makes a motion and not seconded for it not be Noticed
6 And that no ~~person~~ member of this Committee shall Depart without Leave
7 And that any member Behaving Disorderly either by Getting Drunk Swearing or any other Vice, shall be fined and subject to the Same penalties as officers of the Court and no notice taken of their motion
11 untill satisfaction is made to the Committee, And the fines

Applyed as other fines of like nature for the Use of the Parish

Res.d that for a Committee of secracy and intelligeance this Com.tee has truly Elected

John Hamlin Ch.n

Joseph Winston, Richard Goode, Jesse Walton, Joseph Phillips, James Doak & Matthew Moore

Resolved that those who stands in opposion to the Common Cause shall have no benefit of the proceedings of this Committee

The Committee Ajourns till further Orders

By Order Benjamin Cleaveland Chair.n

Wm. Lenoir Clk

The Surry County Committee of Safety met on September 21, 1775, and adopted rules governing the conduct of its members during meetings. The committee also appointed members to a "committee of secracy and intelligeance." On the previous day the committee had passed a resolution to "suppress all Immorality and Vice." Surry County Committee of Safety Journal, September 21, 1775, "Committees of Safety, 1774-1776," Papers of the Secretary of State, State Archives, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

provisional government for the colony that consisted of a Provincial Council and six district committees of safety. In April 1776 the Fourth Provincial Congress abolished the district committees and replaced the Provincial Council with a Council of Safety.[11]

The provincial congresses in conjunction with the Provincial Council and the Council of Safety attempted to exert greater control over the town and county committees. Although the Provincial Council met infrequently and offered little direction to the local committees, the district committees of safety provided coordination and oversight for the town and county committees within their respective areas. The local organizations remained essentially independent; however, the more authoritative Council of Safety created in the spring of 1776 exercised greater influence over local matters. The safety committees thereafter became less active, eventually fading from the scene as the Fifth Provincial Congress, in November-December 1776, prepared a constitution on which to base an independent state government.[12]

Meeting in Hillsborough in August 1775, the Third Provincial Congress introduced an element of uniformity to committee membership. It required county committees to consist of a minimum of twenty-one members; the committees of the larger towns of Edenton, New Bern, and Wilmington, fifteen; and the towns of Halifax, Hillsborough, and Salisbury, seven. The Third Provincial Congress also instructed each committee to appoint seven of its members to act as "a committee of secrecy, intelligence, and observation," whose duties included corresponding with the Provincial Council, the district committees of safety, and other local committees of safety in North Carolina and the adjoining colonies. The local committees dutifully held elections and appointed the requisite committees of secrecy.[13]

Other than requiring annual elections and quarterly meetings and permitting town and county committees to unite, the Third Provincial Congress generally left the local committees free to control their own affairs. Some committees convened often, usually monthly, and all responded to exigencies of the moment. Although the committees of Wilmington and New Hanover County joined together in January 1775, the two groups slowly drifted apart. Late in 1775, the two committees elected new members, and an unsuccessful effort was made to reconcile the two groups. Elsewhere, the Salisbury and

11. Bessie Lewis Whitaker, *The Provincial Council and Committees of Safety in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University Press, 1908), 1-19; Smith, "Creation of an American State," 193-197, 250-258, 281-284, 299-303; Butler, *Coming of the Revolution*, 55-65; Ganyard, *Emergence of State Government*, 35-70.

12. Whitaker, *Provincial Council and Committees of Safety*, 11-18; Hunt, *Provincial Committees of Safety*, 120-129, especially 124. Scholars tend to belittle the role played by the district safety committees but perhaps have been misled by their brief existence, from August 1775 to April 1776, and more particularly by the paucity of records available for their meetings. Extant minutes for the New Bern District Committee of Safety reveal a decidedly energetic organization that assumed leadership responsibilities for its region. See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:414-415, 444-445, 456-457, 459-465. Scattered references indicate that other committees were likewise quite active. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:423 [Edenton District], 440 [Salisbury District]; *North Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), December 22, 1775 [Edenton District]; McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 29-30 [Wilmington District], 65 [reference to Salisbury District].

13. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:212-214 [Third Provincial Congress]; McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 58-60; *Bute County Committee Minutes*, 35; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:279-280, 312 [Rowan], 424 [Tryon]. Pitt appointed three men to serve as a "Select Committee of Secrecy, intelligence, and observation." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:296.

Rowan County, the New Bern and Craven County, and the Edenton and Chowan County committees worked in conjunction with little difficulty.[14]

During its somewhat strained union, the Wilmington-New Hanover committee maintained constant contact with similar organizations in the colony, particularly those in neighboring counties. The committee tried to coordinate the patriot effort to oppose the British, to reinforce the revolutionary spirit among the other committees, and to render assistance as the occasion warranted against British military threats. In February 1775 the Wilmington-New Hanover Safety Committee informed its Duplin County counterpart that "for the better Communication . . . and [promotion] of a Similarity of Conduct in your & our counties," it would send two members to meet with the Duplin committee. In turn, the Wilmington-New Hanover committee declared that it would welcome Duplin committeemen who wanted to participate in New Hanover deliberations. The Wilmington committee periodically invited representatives from the Cape Fear counties to convene in regional gatherings in Wilmington. At one such meeting on July 20, 1775, fourteen representatives from Bladen County, two from Onslow County, two from Cumberland County, and three from Duplin County joined the Wilmington-New Hanover men.[15]

The Wilmington committee also extended advice and encouragement to other committees. It reminded the Brunswick committee that a ship, recently arrived from Glasgow and anchored in the lower reaches of the Cape Fear River, violated the nonimportation agreement. A letter to the Bladen committee thanked that group for apprehending two men suspected of spying for the British. A notice to several neighboring counties advised them of a general fast decreed by the Continental Congress; and, a note to the Cumberland committee congratulated that organization "on the favourable disposition of their Committee & County to support the Common cause of America."[16]

The backcountry movement centered on Rowan, Mecklenburg, and Tryon Counties. In June 1775 the Rowan committee wrote to the Mecklenburg committee, "desiring a communication to be held up betwixt the several Committees that the greater unity may be in supporting the common cause, in particular desiring the correspondence of your Committee. . . ." In addition, the Rowan committee urged the committees of Brunswick County, Wilmington, and Cross Creek [Fayetteville] to prevent Rowan inhabitants from communicating with the royal governor, Josiah Martin, without proper authorization. It also asked committees in Petersburg, Virginia, in Chowan County and Campbellton [Fayetteville], North Carolina, and in Georgetown, Camden,

14. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 62, 69; *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), July 28, 1775 [Wilmington and New Hanover County]; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1143 [New Bern and Craven County], 10:11, 134-135; Fries et al., *Records of the Moravians*, 3:1027 [Salisbury and Rowan County]; Proceedings of the Committee for the Town of *Newbern*, and County of *Craven*, May 31, 1775; Samuel Johnston to [Joseph Hewes], June 27, 1775 [Edenton and Chowan County], and Thomas Jones to "Dear Sir," [June 28, 1775, Edenton and Chowan County], Hayes Collection.

15. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 16-17, 45; *Cape-Fear Mercury*, July 28, 1775. The New Bern-Craven County committee also made an effort to coordinate activities of other committees. See Proceedings for the Town of *Newbern*, and County of *Craven*, May 31, 1775; R[ichard] Cogdell to "Dear Sir," June 18, 1775, Hayes Collection.

16. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 21, 36-37, 45-46, 54.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NEWBERN, *January* 27, 1775.

PUBLIC Notice is hereby given, that Mr. *John Green* and Mr. *John Wright Stanly*, Merchants in *Newbern*, have agreed with, and are appointed by, the Committee of *Craven* County, to receive the Subſcriptions which is now, or may hereafter be raiſed in the ſaid County, for the Relief of the diſtreſſed Inhabitants of *Boſton*, and to ſhip the ſame to the Port of *Salem* as ſoon as the ſeveral Subſcriptions are received. Proper Stores are provided by the ſaid Gentlemen for the Reception of Corn, Peaſe, Pork, and ſuch Articles as the Subſcribers may chooſe to pay their Subſcriptions in.

Thoſe Gentlemen therefore who have taken in Subſcriptions, either in Money or Effects, are deſired to direct the ſame to be paid or delivered to the above named Meſſ. *Green* and *Stanly*, on or before the Middle of *March* next; and to ſend, as ſoon as poſſible, an Account of the Subſcriptions which are or may be taken, by which they may be governed in receiving.

R. COGDELL, Chairman.

Although Parliament had closed Boston Harbor to all shipping on June 1, 1774, the nearby port of Salem, Massachusetts, remained open. In this advertisement the Craven County Committee of Safety solicits aid for the Bostonians. Two New Bern merchants, John Green and John Wright Stanly, were appointed to receive the food, miscellaneous goods, and money collected by the committee and then ship the donations to Salem for distribution in Boston. Advertisement, January 27, 1775, "Committees of Safety, 1774-1776," Papers of the Secretary of State, State Archives.

and Charleston, South Carolina, not to purchase goods from any Rowan resident without a certificate signed by the secretary of the Rowan committee and imprinted with the committee's seal. Neighboring Tryon County dispatched a prisoner to the Rowan committee for safekeeping, and the Rowan committee justified the confiscation of weapons from Surry County inhabitants as having been undertaken by a directive from the Council of Safety.[17]

One of the first orders of business for the various committees was to send aid to the people of Boston, where royal authorities had closed the port in retaliation for the destruction of British tea. In February 1775 the Pitt committee sought a ship to carry its donations northward. In New Bern, merchants John Green and John Wright Stanly headed the relief effort on behalf of the local committee, accepting money as well as produce—corn, peas, and pork. At his own expense, Parker Quince, a merchant and member of the Brunswick County committee, provided a ship laden with three hundred barrels of provisions for the beleaguered Bostonians.[18]

17. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:11, 282, 317 [Rowan], 593 [Surry], 609-610 [Tryon]. See also Norris W. Preyer, *Hezekiah Alexander and the Revolution in the Backcountry* (Charlotte: Heritage Printers, 1987), 92-116.

18. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1081, 1126, 1281 [Pitt], 1116 [Craven]; *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, s.v. "Quince, Parker." For action by the Wilmington committee on behalf of Boston, see McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 22; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1017-1018.

Enforcement of the prescription on nonimportation and nonexportation fell principally to the committees in the port towns of Edenton, Bath, Beaufort, New Bern, Wilmington, and Brunswick. Cargoes that arrived after the nonimportation shipping deadline of December 1, 1774, usually were auctioned with the proceeds being earmarked for the aid of Boston. Edenton and Wilmington merchants dutifully reported the arrival of cargoes, after which the safety committees sold the goods. The records of Edenton and Wilmington-New Hanover committee transactions indicate that the whigs were fairly successful in estopping commerce.[19]

Of particular concern to the Continental Congress was the importation of slaves, which had been prohibited after December 1, 1774, by the Continental Association. Although relatively few slaves were imported into North Carolina, at least when compared with the numbers imported into Virginia and South Carolina, the Wilmington-New Hanover committee found several violations of the directive concerning slaves. The committee ordered the bondsmen reshipped and demanded proof from the importers that reshipment had occurred. However, the committee did make two exceptions occasioned by extenuating circumstances: it allowed a Mr. Elliott, who had moved from Jamaica to North Carolina, to bring some of his house servants with him; and it permitted Cornelius Harnett to import a fugitive slave from Rhode Island.[20]

Subsequent to nonimportation, the colonials used nonexportation as a means to increase pressure on the British. According to the resolution of the Continental Congress, nonexportation became effective on September 10, 1775. As a result, the Wilmington committee forbade the loading of vessels after that date "on pain of [incurring] the displeasure of the Public." When informed that several ships loaded and cleared to leave before September 10 had been delayed, the committee, following congressional instruction, allowed them to depart. It also authorized a Captain Magill of the sloop *Ranger* to clear for New York with a cargo of deerskins. Otherwise, no other vessels left Wilmington without the committee's permission.[21]

In accordance with an order from the Continental Congress, the committees regulated prices, particularly of salt and gunpowder. The Pitt, Tryon, and Wilmington-New Hanover committees established a maximum price for salt to thwart potential

19. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 1-2, 4-5, 7, 14, 17, 19, 24-25; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1134-1135 [Edenton]; *North Carolina Gazette*, January 13, February 24, 1775; Samuel Johnston to "Dear Sir," April 2, 1775, Robert Smith to "Dear Sir," May 4, 1775, and Committee for the town of Edenton to "Dear Sir," attested by Robert Smith [1775], Hayes Collection.

20. Walter E. Minchinton, "The Seaborne Slave Trade of North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 71 (January 1994), 1-61; McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 5-6, 13, 24, 26. Cornelius Harnett was chairman of the local safety committee and one of the most active revolutionaries in the colony. He had purchased a black servant in Rhode Island before the congressional deadline; however, the slave had escaped before he could be transported to North Carolina. The slave was apprehended; and, on March 6, 1775, Harnett requested permission to import the bondsman into the colony. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 20.

21. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 51, 57, 58, 63; Mrs. Elizabeth Catherine DeRosset to Mr. John Burgwyn, September 10, 1775, in Kemp P. Battle, ed., *Letters and Documents Relating to the Early History of the Lower Cape Fear* (Chapel Hill: The University Press, 1903), 26. Exports continued to be shipped to nonproscribed ports into early 1776 as colonials attempted to reduce their outstanding debts. See Charles Christopher Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), 119-120.

price gouging. After consulting with merchants, the Wilmington committee set prices for dry goods. Cheating did occur; and, with sufficient evidence, its practitioners were punished. For example, Jonathan Dunbibin of Wilmington and Hugh Montgomery of Rowan County overcharged for salt and gunpowder. When called before their respective committees, the former admitted his "Mistake" and made restitution; the latter "generously acknowledged" his "Trespass" and "Declared his Intention to do so no more." Although satisfied with Montgomery's apology, the Rowan committee advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette* that Maxwell Chambers, a merchant and the former treasurer of the Rowan committee, was an "Enemy to the common cause of Liberty, for raising the prices of his goods higher than he sold at a year past, contrary to the Direction of the Continental Congress."[22]

The committees took seriously the mandate to guard the morals of the colonists. The Surry committee agreed to suppress "all Immorality and Vice, [and] all kinds of sporting[,] Gaming, Betting or Wagering whatsoever." The Bute committee resolved that "all Extravagances, Dissipation & Vice particularly Cards and Racing be Discouraged. . . ." Three days after its formation, the Wilmington committee notified several gentlemen in the area to abandon a proposed horse race. The committee then forbade all private, as well as public, dances and warned that persons ignoring the strictures of the committee would be "properly stigmatized." As late as March 1776, the Pitt committee granted a petition from the county to dismiss a "Mr. Carson," the local dancing instructor.[23]

Another task of the safety committees was the promotion of domestic manufactures. Previous colonial attempts to use nonimportation to combat the stamp and Townshend taxes necessarily led to efforts to achieve a measure of self-sufficiency. Following the suggestion of the First Continental Congress, North Carolina's Second Provincial Congress advised the safety committees to offer bounties to "encourage Arts, Manufactures, Agriculture, and every kind of economy."[24] However, the only committee that apparently made a determined effort to promote domestic manufactures was that of Chowan County. By March 1775, Chowan residents had pledged $8,000 to support local manufacturing endeavors. The committee decided to use the funds to subsidize the manufacture of woolen and cotton cards and to encourage the manufacture of two thousand pounds of "good steel, fit for edged tools." It also hoped to use some of the money to reward the first person in the county to spin and weave one hundred yards of cloth, to produce one hundred yards of well-bleached linen, and to produce one hundred yards of linen of slightly lesser quality. Unfortunately, the surviving records do not reveal the outcome of the proposals.[25]

22. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1100 [Pitt], 10:9-10 [Rowan], 347, 451 [Pitt], 424 [Tryon]; McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 6, 13, 16. Persons envious or suspicious of the Moravians brought charges of price gouging against Traugott Bagge and Gottlieb Fockel, but the accusations were demonstrably false and dropped before the Rowan committee had an opportunity to hear them. Fries et al., *Records of the Moravians*, 3:1032.

23. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:251 [Surry], 494 [Pitt]; *Bute County Committee Minutes*, 15; McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 3-4, 9, 13-14, 17-18, 20.

24. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1185.

25. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1134, 1141-1143 [Chowan]; *North Carolina Gazette*, February 24, 1775.

Although the committees dutifully followed the directions of the Continental Congress, many exceeded congressional authority and direction to work tirelessly to force the issue of independence and, in effect, to instigate revolution. The committees assumed an active role in obtaining support for the colonial position by claiming that Governor Martin intended to use Indians and slaves to combat the revolutionaries, an action that seriously discredited the British government. In the western region of the colony, the Rowan and Tryon committees encouraged fears that the British would recruit Cherokee Indians to crush the struggle for freedom. In August 1775 the Rowan committee ordered that one thousand volunteers be mobilized and readied to march on the shortest notice, asserting that the British intended to let "loose upon our defenceless frontier a Torrent of Blood by the Savage rage of Indian Barbarity. . . ."[26]

In the east, the whigs attributed a potential slave uprising to Governor Martin, who they believed would use the promise of freedom to entice bondsmen to support the Crown and thwart patriot plans. The plot was discovered in Beaufort County in July 1775 but apparently also involved the surrounding area. The Pitt County committee quickly authorized the county slave patrol to kill armed slaves who did not readily surrender their weapons when questioned. Despite the governor's protestations to the contrary, other committees, particularly the New Bern-Craven committee, accused Martin of contemplating "a crime so horrid . . . [that it] could only originate in a soul lost to every sense of feelings of humanity, and long hackneyed in the detestable and wicked purpose of subjugating these Colonies to the most abject slavery." The fear of a slave insurrection spread to the Cape Fear region, where the whigs declared that the king had promised "every Negro that would murder his Master and family that he should have his Master's plantation."[27]

Ultimately, the safety committees pressed the decision for independence upon the populace; and, by use of intimidation and public ridicule, they silenced the loyalists and swelled the ranks of the revolutionaries. The Rowan committee sent representatives to confer "on the subject of American freedom" with residents living at the forks of the Yadkin River. In New Hanover County, militia officers, encouraged by the committee, "harangued" their men "with the implacable cruelty of the king of Great Britain, who had resolved to murder and destroy man, wife, and child." With their publishers as active members of local committees of safety, North Carolina's two newspapers, the *North Carolina Gazette* (New Bern) and the *Cape Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), served as mouthpieces of whig propaganda. In addition, the committees distributed handbills

26. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:134-135 [Rowan], 247 [Tryon].

27. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:87, 94-95, 138a [first quotation]; Janet Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being a Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776*, ed. by Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles M. Andrews (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), 199 [second quotation]; Vernon O. Stumpf, *Josiah Martin: The Last Royal Governor of North Carolina* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press for the Kellenberger Historical Foundation, 1986), 125-127. Even before the discovery of the potential insurrection in July 1775, the New Bern-Craven County committee organized military companies to patrol and search slave dwellings, fearing that "in these Times of general Tumult and Confusion, that the Slaves may be instigated and encouraged by our inveterate Enemies to an Insurrection, which in our present defenceless State might have the most dreadful Consequences. . . ." Proceedings of the Committee for the Town of *Newbern*, and County of *Craven*, May 31, 1775, Hayes Collection.

containing accounts of battles, resolutions, and other information—true or not—favorable to the patriot cause.[28]

Perhaps the most effective weapon wielded by the whigs was the association or "test," a written statement of principle that proclaimed American rights and denounced British tyranny. More specifically, the association rejected British taxation and pledged to follow the dictates of the Continental Congress and North Carolina provincial congresses. People were forced to declare their sentiments and publicly sign the association. Wilmington used the resolutions of the Continental Congress of 1774 as its first test; other committees soon followed. Subsequently, the various committees formulated their own associations, usually an elaboration of the Continental Association proposed by the Continental Congress. Often the associations served as models for other committees: Cumberland used that of Wilmington; Bute, that of New Bern; Pitt, that of Craven County.[29]

After Lexington and Concord in April 1775, the declarations within the associations became more strident, contending that the Americans were justified in exercising force to resist force and calling for the patriots to pledge to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to secure freedom and safety. Wilmington drafted two additional associations in March and June 1775. The latter referred to "a Wicked and despotic" British government that, by its actions, offered sufficient justification "to drive an Oppress'd people to the Use of Arms." Therefore, the committee declared that it was "the Duty of Good Citizens" to resist "force by Force, . . . " and stated that the people were "Ready to sacrifice [their] Lives and fortunes to secure . . . [the] freedom and Safety [of their country]." Associations adopted by the Pitt and Tryon committees echoed those sentiments.[30]

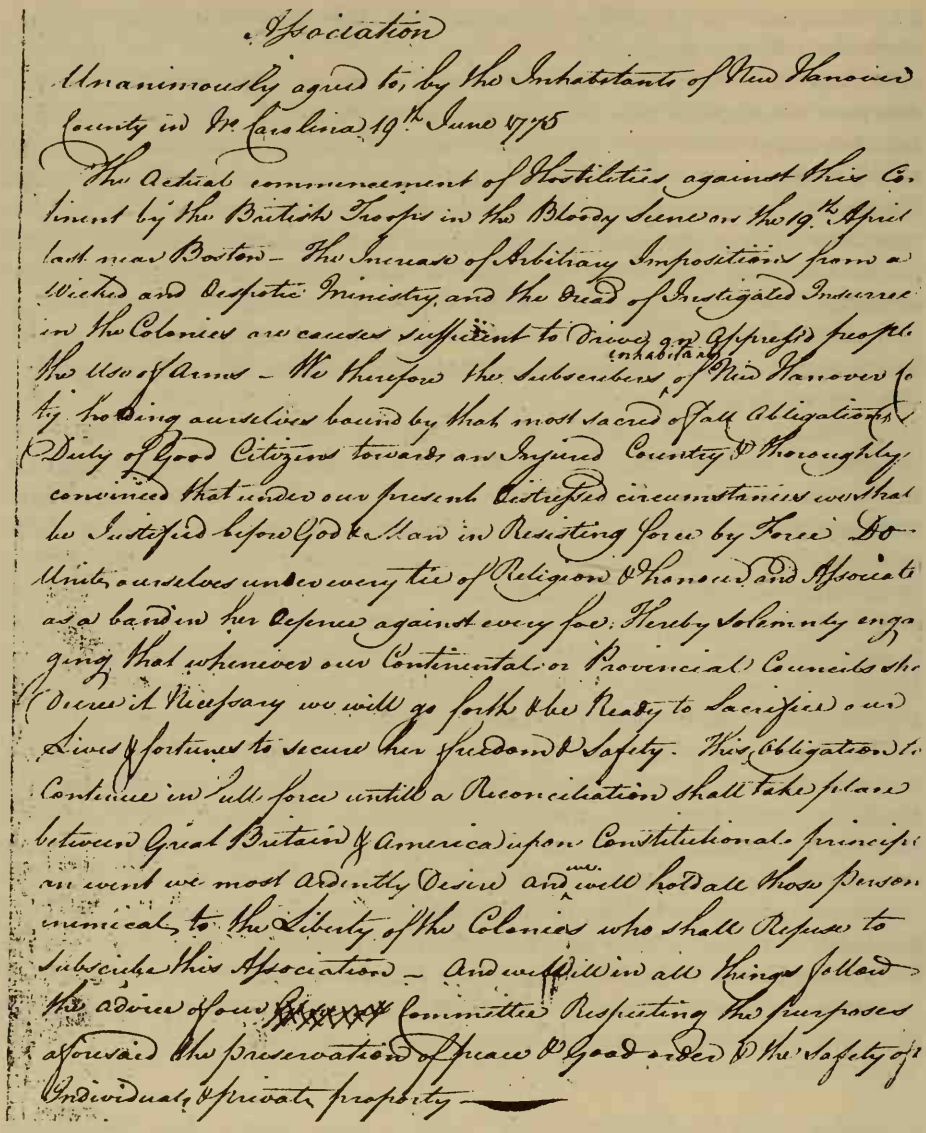
The committees pushed the collection of signatures ruthlessly. Not only did the members of the committees sign the associations themselves, but they also presented the documents to the people, sometimes at large, as in the case of Wilmington and New Bern, or by way of the militias. The Rowan committee sought the support of those county militia captains and companies "as think it their Duty to hand down unimpaired to posterity the Rights and Privileges their ancestors through seas of Blood handed down to them. . . ." At New Bern, the committee ordered everyone in the town and Craven County to sign within five days. Those who declined were disarmed and denounced as enemies "to the liberties of America. . . ." The Pitt committee barred those who did not sign its association from serving in any public capacity.[31]

28. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:134, 317, 434-435 [Rowan]; Schaw, *Journal of a Lady*, 198 [quotation]; McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 14-15, 27; *North Carolina Gazette*, July 14, 1775.

29. *Bute County Committee Minutes*, 12-13, 18; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1154 [Pitt], 10:10-11 [Rowan], 15, 61-62, 221-222 [Pitt], 29-30 [Cumberland], 296-297 [Tryon].

30. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 18-19, 31-32; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1236-1238, 10:44, 61-62 [Pitt], 162-163 [Tryon]; *North Carolina Gazette*, May 5, 12, 1775. See also Sellers, "Making a Revolution," 38.

31. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:10-11 [Rowan], 158 [New Bern], 244 [Pitt]; Richard Cogdell to [Richard Caswell], June 18, 1775, Richard Cogdell Papers, Private Collections, State Archives, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh; "Rigdon Brice," American Loyalists's Claims, Audit Office (AO 13/117), British Public Record Office, London, microfilm copy in the British Records Collection, State Archives; *Cape-Fear*



Association

Unanimously agreed to, by the Inhabitants of New Hanover County in No. Carolina 19th June 1775

The Actual commencement of Hostilities against this Continent by the British Troops in the Bloody Scene on the 19th April last near Boston – The Increase of Arbitrary Impositions from a Wicked and Despotic Ministry, and the Dread of Instigated Insurrec in the Colonies are causes sufficient to drive an Appressed people the Use of Arms – We therefore the Subscribers inhabitants of New Hanover Co ty holding ourselves bound by that most sacred of all Obligations Duty of Good Citizens towards an Injured Country & thoroughly convinced that under our present Distressed circumstances we shal be Justified before God & Man in Resisting force by Force Do Unite ourselves under every tie of Religion & honour and Associate as a band in her Defence against every foe: Hereby solemnly engaging that whenever our Continental or Provincial Councils sha Decree it Necessary we will go forth & be Ready to Sacrifice our Lives & fortunes to secure her freedom & Safety. This Obligation to Continue in full force untill a Reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain & America upon Constitutional principl an event we most Ardently Desire and we will hold all those person inimical to the Liberty of the Colonies who shall Refuse to Subscribe this Association – And we Will in all things follow the advice of our ~~[illegible]~~ Committee Respecting the purposes aforesaid the preservation of peace & Good order & the Safety of Individuals & private property

On June 19, 1775, the Wilmington-New Hanover Committee of Safety adopted a new association that presented the committee's justification for using force to resist the threat of British aggression against the colonies. The association, which was to be signed by all citizens, served as a statement of purpose that unified the local inhabitants in a common cause. Entry for June 19, 1775, Proceedings of the Wilmington-New Hanover Committee of Safety, 1774-1776, "Committees of Safety, 1774-1776," Papers of the Secretary of State, State Archives.

Mercury, September 1, 1775. See also Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:422 [Pitt]; McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 18-19, 21.

Janet Schaw, a Scotswoman visiting the Lower Cape Fear in 1775, graphically described the pressure exerted on recalcitrants. A militia officer or committeeman went to a plantation where the owner was invited to sign the association or suffer the consequences—destruction of crops, livestock, and home; seizure of slaves; and perhaps bodily harm. According to Schaw, "Not to chuse the first requires more courage than they are possessed of, and I believe this method has seldom failed with the lower sort [of people]." In Wilmington the militia intimidated those who refused to sign. On one occasion Schaw found several loyalists surrounded by local soldiers. When an officer was asked by what authority he required approval of the association, he pointed to his soldiers and said, "there is my Authority, dispute it if you can." The loyalists stood their ground until two o'clock the following morning, when they were released. The standoff was effective: on another visit to Wilmington a few days later, Schaw found it "intirely desserted by the Tories, some of whom are out of the country."[32]

Mandatory militia service was another important means used by the committees to secure support for the Revolution. When called to the musters, each man had to declare his loyalty; many may have served reluctantly but remained in service for fear of retribution from their fellow citizens. In July 1775 the Wilmington safety committee demanded that every white man capable of bearing arms enroll in one of the two local militia companies and that anyone who had not signed the association must do so immediately. The committee considered failure to participate "as a Declaration of Intention inimicable to the Common cause of America." Governor Martin confirmed the success of this tactic when he reported that "Scotch Merchants at Wilmington who so long maintained their loyalty have lately been compelled ostensibly to join in sedition by appearing under Arms at the Musters appointed by the Committees. . . ."[33]

The committees dealt harshly with dissidents. When the Wilmington committee found that James Hepburn of Cumberland County had collaborated with Governor Martin in trying to raise mercenaries against "the Noblest Struggles of Insulted Liberty," the committee declared that Hepburn was "a false, Scandalous & seditious Incendiary, who . . . favour[s] . . . Tyranny & oppression," and ordered that "Friends to American liberty" must avoid all connections with "such a wicked & detestable Character." Capt. Alexander Maclean, who met with Governor Martin in an unsuccessful effort to obtain a leave of absence from British military service, was declared by the committee to be "inimical to the Liberties of America." The committee then gave Captain Maclean thirty days to recant or leave the province. The Tryon committee sent Ambrose Mills under guard to the Rowan committee for safekeeping, calling Mills "one of the greatest Enemys of our pese" and a "notorious offender against the Commin Caus of america." Mills's crime was having corresponded with British officers and having traveled in the Cherokee territory.[34]

32. Schaw, *Journal of a Lady*, 192-194, 198-199.

33. Mrs. Catherine Elizabeth DeRosset to John Burgwyn, August 25, September 10, 1775, in Battle, *History of the Lower Cape Fear*, 22, 27; John Shy, "The American Revolution: The Military Conflict Considered as a Revolutionary War," in *Essays on the American Revolution*, ed. Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., 1973), 151, 154; Schaw, *Journal of a Lady*, 180; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:236.

34. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 40-41, 56, 71, 74-76; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:609-610 [Tryon].

The intimidating presence of the committee often sufficed to force a change of opinion. When Morgan Murray and Joseph Goswick were brought before the Bute committee to face charges "of being Unfriendly to the American Cause," they quickly signed the association. Appearing before the Rowan committee for speaking "disrespectfully" of measures to preserve American freedom, James Garniss "heartily professed his sorrow" and signed the association. Although Jacob Beck of Rowan County was "notorious" for his contempt of the committee and "Opposition to American Measures," he "cheerfully signed" the association when he was presented before the entire committee.[35] On October 2, 1775, John Tyson of Pitt County acknowledged his past opposition to the "just rights of *America*" and agreed to conform to the association. Furthermore, in a newspaper advertisement dated November 4, 1775, he once again publicly admitted his guilt, promised in the future to defend "the constitutional rights and liberties of *America*," and declared that he would use his influence to persuade others to do the same, including those that he "had seduced from their duty."[36]

Among those suspected of disloyalty to the American cause, Dr. James Fallon, a Wilmington physician, proved to be one of the most dangerous. When the Wilmington committee discovered that Dr. Fallon was the author of a two-page tract critical of the American cause, it ordered his arrest. Little time passed before Col. James Moore, a militia officer, warned the committee that Dr. Fallon was a "dangerous Person among the Soldiers" and that he could not keep the physician in the guardhouse any longer for fear of "injuring the common cause and running the risk of the public safety." Despite strict orders to the contrary, Dr. Fallon apparently was able to leave the guardhouse freely, entertain visitors, and conduct a regular correspondence. The committee then put Dr. Fallon in the public jail with orders to the sheriff and jailer directing that the physician receive no visitors and that his correspondence be censored by the committee. Such determination had the desired effect: two weeks later the doctor indicated a willingness to submit to the committee and offer security for his proper deportment.[37]

Sometimes men found themselves falsely accused of anti-American sentiments and resorted to the committees for exoneration. The Rowan committee decided that accusations alleging that Capt. George Davidson had supplied the Cherokee Indians with powder were "false and groundless." On another occasion the Rowan committee declared that a charge "of falsehood & etc." by William McBridge against Thomas Whitson was "a false & scurrilous performance and the Author thereof ought to be treated with every mark of disrespect." Amos Atkinson and Solomon Shepard in Pitt County cleared themselves of accusations that they had obstructed the collection for the relief of the poor in Boston. The Dobbs County committee stated that the malicious charges against George Miller were "altogether unjust, ungenerous, and without Foundation" and that Miller's conduct had proved him to be a "Friend to *American* Liberty."[38]

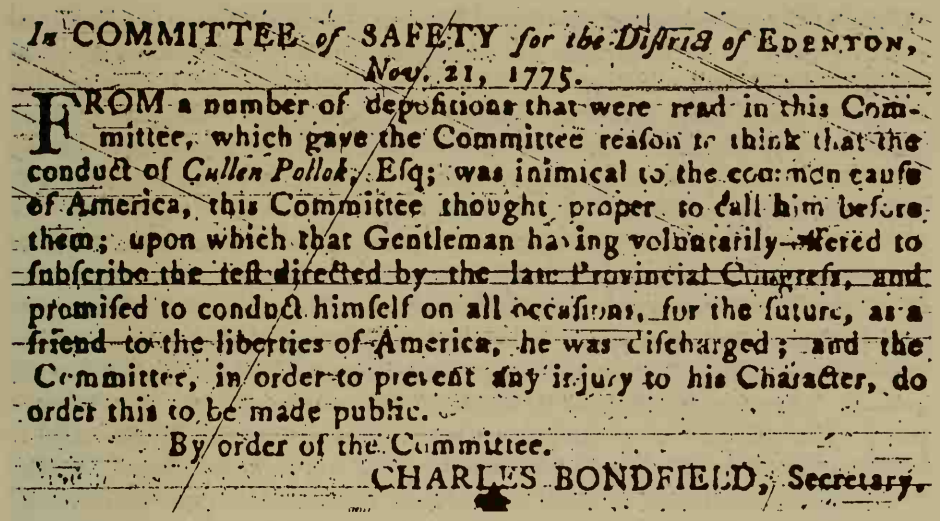
Public recantments and exonerations, however, were no guarantee against recrimination. On November 21, 1775, Cullen Pollock, a prominent Edenton citizen and the

35. *Bute County Committee Minutes*, 38; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:254, 316-317 [Rowan].

36. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1154, 1266, 10:243, 261; *North Carolina Gazette*, December 22, 1775.

37. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 73, 75, 77-79, 82.

38. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:99 [Pitt], 253, 318 [Rowan]; *North Carolina Gazette*, July 14, 1775 [Dobbs].



In COMMITTEE *of* SAFETY *for the District of* EDENTON,
Nov. 21, 1775.

FROM a number of depositions that were read in this Committee, which gave the Committee reason to think that the conduct of *Cullen Pollock*, Esq; was inimical to the common cause of America, this Committee thought proper to call him before them; upon which that Gentleman having voluntarily offered to subscribe the test directed by the late Provincial Congress, and promised to conduct himself on all occasions, for the future, as a friend to the liberties of America, he was discharged; and the Committee, in order to prevent any injury to his Character, do order this to be made public.

By order of the Committee.

CHARLES BONDFIELD, Secretary.

One responsibility of the committees of safety was to determine which individuals were opposed to the patriot cause. Cullen Pollock was called before the Edenton District Committee and questioned about his loyalties. Pollock "promised to conduct himself on all occasions, . . . as a friend to the liberties of America." The committee directed that its findings be published "in order to prevent any injury to his [Pollock's] Character." Notice, November 21, 1775, printed in the *North Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), December 22, 1775.

grandson of former governor Thomas Pollock, was called before the Edenton District Committee of Safety for having made an "innocuous remark." Pollock voluntarily subscribed to the test and promised "to conduct himself . . . for the future, as a friend to the liberties of America." That night dissatisfied patriots broke into Cullen Pollock's house, forced him into the street, and treated him "with circumstances of brutality disgracefully shocking to humanity." Although some of the attackers may have doubted the sincerity of Pollock's recantation, others may have used the occasion to avenge personal differences unrelated to the gentleman's loyalty to the patriot cause. Possibly, the attackers were reacting to a rumor then circulating in Edenton that Pollock (a second generation North Carolinian) was a Scot who wanted the colonies to remain British. There was strong anti-Scottish feeling in the Carolinas at that time because of the Scots' mercantile association with Great Britain and their well-known loyalist sentiments. Nonetheless, the Edenton district committee strongly denounced "such infamous proceedings" and declared "the promoters and abettors of that horrid transaction, to be worthy of public contempt."[39]

The committees ardently pursued independence, yet they also demonstrated compassion for those accused of disloyalty. The Tryon committee reminded the "good people of this County" not to construe failure to sign the association as license to commit "Acts

39. *North Carolina Gazette*, December 22, 1775; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:1027-1032; Don Higginbotham, ed., *The Papers of James Iredell*, 2 vols. to date (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1976–), 1:340-341; Ann Pollock to [Samuel Johnston], ca. November 20, 1775, and A[nn] Pollock to Joseph Hewes, December 23, 1775, Hayes Collection.

of Inhumanity or Coerce [the opposition] by famine, such as refusing to grind [their grain] at Mills, or refusing them the necessaries of life." The Rowan committee instructed the town committee of Salisbury to support the family of the notorious loyalist Benjamin Booth Boote, who had been arrested and sent to Charleston, South Carolina, for confinement. The New Hanover committee, in consideration of the "age and infirmities" of Elizabeth Catherine DeRosset, allowed the elderly loyalist lady to openly drink tea for an illness.[40]

In addition to dealing with dissidents, the committees began to assume a defensive military posture by amassing gunpowder, lead, flints, and weapons whenever possible. In January 1775 following a royal proclamation banning the exportation of gunpowder from England to the colonies, the Wilmington committee ascertained the amount of powder in the town and began collecting money with which to purchase all that was available. The committee justified its action as being necessary for "the worst Contingency." The collection of military stores began in earnest in the summer of 1775 following the outbreak of fighting in Massachusetts and continued into 1776. The Wilmington committee confiscated small cannon and handguns from the populace, purchased lead, and engaged men to make musket balls, cartridges, and gunpowder.[41]

Other committees mirrored Wilmington's efforts to prepare for hostilities. The northeastern counties—with the exception of Currituck and Pasquotank—busily armed and trained militia in the late spring of 1775 upon receipt of news about the confrontation at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts. The Bertie committee raised a large sum of money to purchase gunpowder but found that none was available, and the Bute committee cautioned its inhabitants to use powder sparingly. The Tryon committee instructed its militia to secure the powder and lead in the county in the name of the committee and sought to purchase five hundred pounds of powder, six hundred pounds of lead, and six hundred flints from the Council of Safety in Charleston, South Carolina. The Rowan committee also looked to neighboring colonies for powder, lead, and flints, and attempted to buy powder and guns from the local populace.[42]

The military preparations proved prescient, particularly for the Lower Cape Fear region, which, more than any other area of North Carolina, assumed a critical importance in the Revolution. The strategic value of the area inhered in three interrelated factors: the Cape Fear River offered easy inland access from the sea for large, oceangoing vessels, including British warships; large numbers of loyalists, particularly Highland Scots, inhabited the Upper Cape Fear valley; and royal governor Josiah Martin, after his ejection from the capital in New Bern by a mob led by the New Bern committee in

40. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:297-298 [Tryon], 312 [Rowan]; Elizabeth Catherine DeRosset to John Burgwyn, n.d. [1775], in Battle, *Early History of the Lower Cape Fear*, 28; Fries et al., *Records of the Moravians*, 2:880; Higginbotham, *Papers of Iredell*, 1:316n. Before Booth was sent to Charleston, the Rowan committee relied upon "the Youth in Salisbury" to guard the house of the notorious loyalist. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:93.

41. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 9-10, 46, 52, 61-62, 68, 73-74.

42. Samuel Johnston to "Dear Sir," June 11, 1775, and Thomas Jones to Joseph Hewes [June 28, 1775], Hayes Collection; *Bute County Committee Minutes*, 24; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:9, 135, 312, 593 [Rowan], 163 [Tryon].

late May 1775, sought refuge first at Fort Johnston and then on board a British vessel stationed in the river below Wilmington.[43]

Ensconced on the *Cruizer*, which was anchored across from Fort Johnston, Governor Martin wasted little time trying to regain control of the colony. The governor's first priority was to strengthen Fort Johnston, a bastion that had been constructed during the French and Indian War to guard the Cape Fear River. Concerned that the fort might become a center for British military operations and a haven for runaway slaves who might be enticed to the British side by promises of freedom, the Wilmington safety committee proposed to destroy Fort Johnston. On July 19, 1775, Col. Robert Howe led some five hundred men, mainly from the militias of Brunswick and New Hanover Counties, on an assault that quickly overwhelmed the lightly manned fort and burned the structure. The Wilmington safety committee tendered its thanks to the participants in the expedition and celebrated its first victory over the British.[44]

Although Fort Johnston had been demolished, the British threat was hardly diminished. By proclamations and personal correspondence, Governor Martin denounced the revolutionaries and tried to rally those who remained loyal to the king. Among the Highland Scots of the Upper Cape Fear valley he had allies; and the Wilmington committee noted with alarm in late July 1775 that the governor intended to visit the backcountry where, it was asserted, he intended to collect men and kindle the flames of a civil war. In November the Brunswick safety committee ominously announced that another warship, accompanied by troop transports, had arrived on the river.[45]

In response, the Wilmington committee heightened its defensive preparations. Upon the request of the Brunswick committee it sent carriage guns to defend Brunswick Town from possible attack. To protect Wilmington, the committee empowered three of its members to sink boats in the river channel to block the British access to the town by water. The committee also undertook the construction of breastworks below Wilmington to guard the town's land exposure. Finally, the committee sought gunpowder from the New Bern committee and troops from the western counties. As 1775 closed, the people of Wilmington were prepared for the worst.[46]

Their apprehensions were well founded. Governor Martin had formulated a plan by which he could regain control of the Lower Cape Fear and, ultimately, North Carolina: he hoped to use loyal Highland Scots settlers from the Upper Cape Fear in conjunction with British troops from England to overwhelm the rebels in the Lower Cape Fear. With the strategic heart of the colony firmly under royal control, he would be able to strike at patriot resistance throughout the remainder of the province. Before the British soldiers arrived, however, the Highland Scots marched toward the Lower Cape Fear, where they were met and crushed in the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge in February

43. Butler, *Coming of the Revolution*, 58; Lee, *Lower Cape Fear*, 262-265; Stumpf, *Josiah Martin*, 114-116.

44. Robert Salter to [Richard Caswell], June 3, 1775, Hayes Collection; McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 44-47; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:130-133; Lee, *Lower Cape Fear*, 265; Stumpf, *Josiah Martin*, 137-138.

45. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 49-50, 53-54, 61-62.

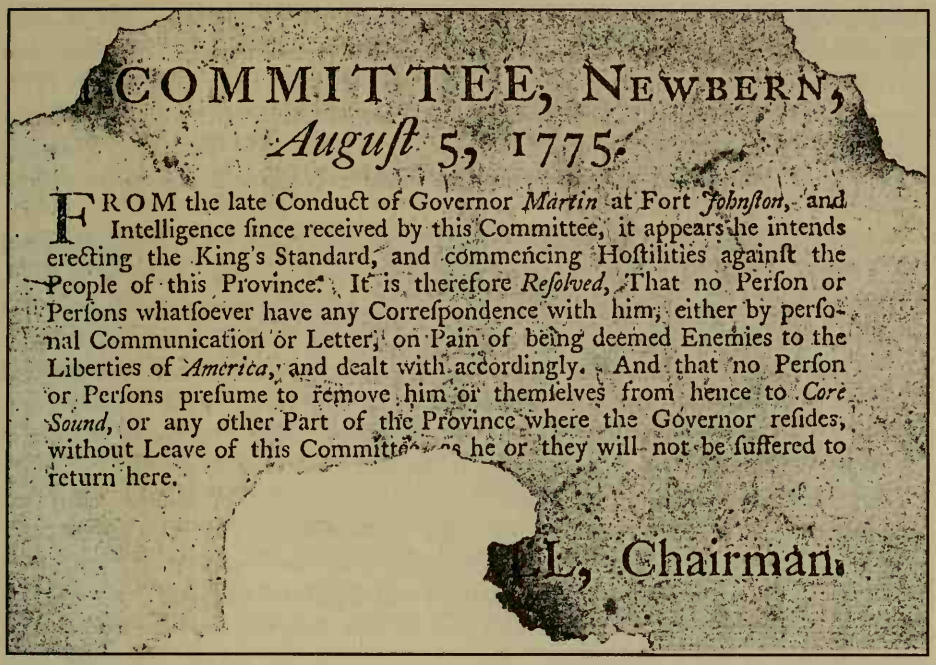
46. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 65, 68, 72-74. The Wilmington committee sought a house in the town to serve as a hospital and made arrangements to hire a nurse and equip the facility. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 70, 72-73.

Col. Robert Howe, a prominent planter and politician, joined the Brunswick Committee of Safety. Responsible for training the local militia, he led five hundred of his men on a successful assault against Fort Johnston on July 19, 1775, which resulted in the destruction of the fort. The Continental Congress later promoted Howe to the rank of major general and appointed him as commander of the Southern Department (1777-1778). Although he served primarily in South Carolina and New York, Robert Howe was the highest ranking military officer from North Carolina during the American Revolution. Engraving of Howe from the Preston Davie Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

1776. Preparations and networking of the safety committees proved invaluable to the victory. Coming to the aid of the Lower Cape Fear patriots were militia units from the backcountry, including Surry and Tryon Counties, and from the New Bern District, including Dobbs, Johnston, Pitt, and Craven Counties.[47]

The influence of the safety committees continued to grow. Even before the onset of hostilities at Moore's Creek Bridge, the colonials had embarked on the road to revolution by transforming the safety committees into local units of government, supplementing, if not supplanting, the county courts. Rather than simply executing the mandates of the Continental Congress, the committees conducted elections to North Carolina's provincial congresses, took censuses, warned road overseers to attend their

47. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:440 [Tryon], 444-445 [New Bern District], 486-493; Fries et al., *Records of the Moravians*, 3:1022, 1029; Hugh T. Lefler, "The Moore's Creek Bridge Campaign, 1776," *North Carolina Historical Review* 30 (January 1953): 23-60; Stumpf, *Josiah Martin*, 159, 164-165, 167-168. The Surry militia had marched only to Cross Creek [Fayetteville] in Cumberland County when it learned that the confrontation at Moore's Creek was over. Still, the mission may not have been in vain, for apparently the men plundered stores belonging to loyalist Scot merchants in the town. Fries et al., *Records of the Moravians*, 3:1022, 1029.



COMMITTEE, NEWBERN,

Auguſt 5, 1775.

FROM the late Conduct of Governor *Martin* at Fort *Johnſton*, and Intelligence ſince received by this Committee, it appears he intends erecting the King's Standard, and commencing Hoſtilities againſt the People of this Province. It is therefore *Reſolved*, That no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever have any Correſpondence with him, either by perſonal Communication or Letter, on Pain of being deemed Enemies to the Liberties of *America*, and dealt with accordingly. And that no Perſon or Perſons preſume to remove him or themſelves from hence to *Core Sound*, or any other Part of the Province where the Governor reſides, without Leave of this Committee, as he or they will not be ſuffered to return here.

L, Chairman.

The committees of safety perceived Gov. Josiah Martin as an enemy to the people, and intercepted intelligence of the governor's plans for reclaiming the colony confirmed the committees' suspicions. The New Bern Committee of Safety issued this resolution that forbade all colonists to correspond or meet with the governor without the committee's authorization. Persons who violated the resolution would be "deemed Enemies to the Liberties of *America*, and dealt with accordingly." Resolution, August 5, 1775, "Committees of Safety, 1774-1776," Papers of the Secretary of State, State Archives.

duties, supervised local fiscal affairs, and instituted slave patrols.[48] The Bute committee, for example, directed its sheriff to collect the 1774 tax that was due and "humbly recommend[ed]" that the county court institute the slave patrol. Eventually, the Bute, New Hanover, and Pitt committees simply divided their respective counties into districts and appointed slave patrollers.[49]

The Third Provincial Congress placed judicial power in the hands of the committees when it prohibited the commencement or execution of any legal action without the consent of the committee of the county in which the defendant resided. The committees variously interpreted the instruction. The Rowan committee decided that the provincial congress intended to restrain only suits involving debt. Nonetheless, the committee also thought that all other actions pending in the county court ought to be

48. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1126, 10:14-15, 88-89, 137, 255-256, 295, 347; McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 60-61; *Bute County Committee Minutes*, 22, 24, 31. The Rowan committee utilized the services of the constable of the town of Salisbury, who had been appointed by the county court. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1080.

49. *Bute County Committee Minutes*, 17, 22, 24; McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 30-31; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:63-64, 451 [Pitt]; Schaw, *Journal of a Lady*, 200.

tried quickly, though, in accordance with the decree of the Third Provincial Congress, the execution of judgments depended upon approval of the committee. A clear assertion of the control of a committee over the county court emanated from Bute in July 1775, when the county committee resolved that the court should probate wills and "hear & determine All indictments Cognizable in the . . . Court till further orders from this Committee." The Tryon committee also ordered the trial of pending suits in the county court.[50]

Some committees went beyond the bounds of former county court jurisdiction and extended their control over the Anglican clergy. The Reverend Daniel Earl of St. Paul's Parish, Chowan County, observed that the clergy must be circumspect in trying to fulfill their responsibilities without giving offense to the whigs. The vestrymen of St. Paul's Parish had openly declared their support for the resolutions calling the provincial and Continental Congresses, and Rev. Daniel Earl worked on behalf of the Chowan committee. The Bute committee absolved the Reverend Charles Cupples of charges of disloyalty, declaring unanimously that his intentions were "friendly to the Country."[51]

Although Earl and Cupples managed to survive suspicion, other clergymen incurred opposition because of their attachment to the British Crown. The Pitt County committee advised the Reverend Nathaniel Blount to withdraw from a recent contract to serve his parish because many in the county objected to his continuing presence. The Reverend James Reed of Christ Church Parish in New Bern refused to preach on a day denominated by the Continental Congress for fasting and prayer. The New Bern committee unanimously "requested" the parish vestry to suspend Reed and stop payment of his salary, which were done immediately.[52]

While a number of committees evinced concern about Anglican ministers, the Wilmington committee worried about the safety of the river pilots who served on the Cape Fear. Recognizing that pilots would be necessary to guide British ships across the bar and up the river and learning that the British had already captured at least one of the men, the Wilmington committee ordered Col. James Moore of the town militia to take custody of the remaining pilots. Subsequently, the committee permitted only one

50. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:213 [Third Provincial Congress], 310-311 [Rowan], 424 [Tryon]; *Bute County Committee Minutes*, 22. Fearful of the effects of the unsettled political situation, creditors presented numerous petitions to the committees to protect their interests. Eventually the number of cases in Rowan and Pitt Counties became so great that those committees empowered any three of their number to grant permission to plaintiffs to bring suits or issue orders to prevent debtors from taking goods from the county to avoid payment. Tryon reduced the number to two in instances in which creditors thought that debtors intended to abscond; Bute, to a single committeeman. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:253, 281, 311, 593 [Rowan], 295-296 [Pitt], 297 [Tryon]; *Bute County Committee Minutes*, 34.

51. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1134, 10:237-238, 612; *Bute County Committee Minutes*, 36. The complaint against Cupples concerned a statement he made in support of Virginia Governor Lord Dunmore's proclamation following the British seizure of Norfolk.

52. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:115-116 [Craven], 122 [Pitt]. Reed, "over a dish of coffee," refused an offer by the committee to preach on July 20, 1775, designated as a day "of fasting, humiliation, and prayer" by the Second Continental Congress in commemoration of the Boston patriots. As Reed informed the committee, it was an established maxim in the province, grounded in principle and in the very real possibility of loss of position, that the Anglican clergy did not intermeddle in politics. If the committee would tell him in whom "the civil Government at present is vested," he would "take special care to give them no offence." Reed sought only "a little liberty as well as yourself," as he told the committee, "at least liberty to be peaceful and quiet and do my duty." *South-Carolina and American General Gazette* (Charleston), August 11, 1775.

pilot to sail the river between Wilmington and Brunswick Town and regulated the activities of other pilots in the area. In the instance of Thomas Gallaway, who was stationed some distance from his home, the committee recommended that the provincial authorities make an adequate allowance for the maintenance of his family.[53]

Committees also demonstrated their capacity for independence by raising funds for military and operational purposes. In August 1774 the First Provincial Congress requested that the various committees provide money to defray the expenses of North Carolina's delegation to the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia. Soon thereafter, the Rowan committee imposed assessments on the county militia companies, not only to support delegates to the Continental Congress, but also to assist county delegates to the provincial congresses. The committee also collected money for use in emergencies, including the purchase of powder and lead to repel incursions of Indians along the frontier. The Tryon committee called upon its militia captains to raise monies to buy powder and lead. The Bute and Wilmington committees obtained the majority of their funds by voluntary subscription or donation. Ironically, the Wilmington committee found a reliable source of income in fines collected from committee members who failed to attend meetings.[54]

Most importantly, the committees of safety assumed control of their respective county militias and directed that all militiamen be kept in readiness for orders from the Continental Congress, provincial congresses, Provincial Council, Council of Safety, and district safety committees. The Rowan committee supervised militia elections and dismissed officers of questionable loyalty. In its zeal the committee even issued an ultimatum to each of its militiamen—either participate in drills or give up their arms and take an oath to remain neutral. Control of the militias enabled the committees to impose their various associations on the people; and, in effect, loyalty to the patriot cause was exacted from an often unwilling or apathetic population. The safety committees utilized the militias in other ways: some committees, principally those of Rowan and Tryon Counties, relied upon their militias for fund raising; and the committees of Rowan, Tryon, and Mecklenburg Counties used their respective militia companies as the basis of committee representation.[55]

The most visible example of the pervasive influence of the safety committees occurred in Mecklenburg County. In resolutions dated May 31, 1775, the Mecklenburg committee virtually asserted independence—both for the county and for the colonies in general. The committee began by declaring that royal government in all the colonies

53. McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 70, 72. Pilots at Ocracoke were particularly exposed to British raids, though in 1776 those men captured three British vessels, including a small cruiser. Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina*, 16 vols. (11-26) (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 1895-1906), 24:218; Wilson Angley, "A History of Ocracoke Inlet and the Adjacent Areas," Research Report, June 6, 1984, Research Branch, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, 18-20.

54. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 9:1073-1074, 10:9-10, 318-319 [Rowan], 163-164 [Tryon]; *Bute County Committee Minutes*, 17; McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 16, 22, 27, 89-91. For Wilmington's expenditures on a variety of items ranging from writing paper, gunpowder, printing, shot molds, cartridges, and candles to payments for cleaning the courthouse, see McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 88-92.

55. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:136-137, 281 [Rowan], 162, 423-424 [Tryon]; *North Carolina Gazette*, June 16, 1775.

The seal of the Surry County Committee of Safety bears the motto "God Save the King," which emphasizes that the committee is rebelling against the king's government, not the king. Under the English Bill of Rights (1688) all citizens, including the English citizens living in the colonies, were given the authority to rebel against the government when the government had trespassed upon their rights. Seal in the Surry County Committee of Safety Journal, "Committees of Safety, 1774-1776," Papers of the Secretary of State, State Archives.

was suspended. Henceforth, all executive and legislative powers in the colonies were transferred to the respective provincial congresses under the general direction of the Continental Congress. The committee also declared that all royal commissions, civil and military, were void. Any person thereafter who received a commission from the Crown or who attempted to exercise a royal commission would be deemed an "Enemy to his Country."[56]

The Mecklenburg committee then proceeded to erect a more formal polity for the county. Assuming that "all former laws are now suspended in this province, and the congress have not yet provided others," the committee, for "the better preservation of good order," decided to frame certain "rules and regulations for the internal government" of Mecklenburg County. The committee first ordered the formation of nine militia companies (eight for the county and one for the town and county seat of Charlotte). Militia officers were elected by their respective companies, whereas under British rule the governor had appointed all militia officers. Each militia company chose two freeholders as "Select Men" who would adjudicate disputes within their respective companies. Proceeding singly or jointly, the "Select Men" functioned much as justices of the peace had during the colonial era. If the "Select Men" required assistance, they

56. *North Carolina Gazette*, June 16, 1775; Preyer, *Hezekiah Alexander and the Revolution*, 97-102. Some confusion surrounds the Mecklenburg Resolves of May 31, 1775, due to claims for the existence of an older document, the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of May 20, 1775. For a historiographical summary of the two, see Richard N. Current, "That Other Declaration: May 20, 1775-May 20, 1975," *North Carolina Historical Review* 54 (spring 1977): 169-191.

were permitted to choose two men from their militia company to serve as constables, a position formerly filled by appointment of the colonial county court. The eighteen "Select Men" met quarterly—as had the county court—at the courthouse in Charlotte. They were allowed to appoint a clerk, if necessary. The safety committee did not entrust the "Select Men" with criminal jurisdiction; however, in cases of nonpayment of debts, the men had the power to commit the guilty to close confinement. In all actions and judgments, the Mecklenburg committee retained ultimate authority within the county.

The Mecklenburg committee members tempered their radical position when they realized that the provincial congresses were unwilling to renounce the British Crown. Yet, the Mecklenburg Resolves portended the future, for in July 1776 the Declaration of Independence was signed and the colonials irrevocably assumed control of their own affairs. Interestingly, the transition to independence led to the denouement of the committees of safety, particularly following the April 1776 meeting of the Fourth Provincial Congress, which created the Council of Safety to serve as a de facto government for North Carolina until the end of the year. In December 1776 the Fifth Provincial Congress drafted and adopted a constitution that established a formal government for the new state. After the formation of the Council of Safety, records of local safety committee meetings survive for only seven counties. None of the committees convened more than three times, and most of their meetings were confined chiefly to settlement of debt actions and the apprehension of suspected loyalists.[57]

Although the committees of safety faded, yielding to a more powerful central authority that guided political and military affairs in North Carolina, the town and county organizations had served an indispensable function in effecting the revolution. Initially the committees were the extralegal means of protest by which the Continental and provincial congresses attempted to intimidate the British and impose their will upon the people. Subsequently the town and county safety committees became, in effect, countergovernments that gradually discredited legitimate authority, assumed the functions of duly constituted local governments, and provided an opportunity for the transfer of individual loyalty to the Revolutionary cause. Raising funds and controlling the militia were key elements in the transformation of the safety committees into countergovernments. Perhaps the most revealing of the declaration of sovereignty, other than the radical action taken by Mecklenburg, was the decision by the Rowan committee to devise its own seal with which to imprint its orders and missives. Governor Josiah Martin expressed well the impact of the safety committees when he lamented, "usurping some new authority every day, executive, judicial or legislative, as the case might be, their powers soon became practically unlimited."[58]

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57. Preyer, *Hezekiah Alexander and the Revolution*, 110; Hunt, *Provincial Committees of Safety*, 126; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 10:592-594, 609-610, 618, 661, 667, 670, 730, 761-762, 785-786, 847; McEachern and Williams, *Wilmington-New Hanover Committee Minutes*, 88.

58. Quotation in R. D. W. Connor, *Cornelius Harnett, An Essay in North Carolina History* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1909), 87.

"Few Were the Hearts . . . that did not Swell with Devotion": Community and Confederate Service in Rowan County, North Carolina, 1861-1862

JOSHUA MCKAUGHAN

On the first day of summer in 1861 the eighty men of the Scotch-Ireland Grays gathered around the packed earth of Ebenezer Methodist Church's campground to hear the words of Montfort Stokes McKenzie. Together with three of his comrades, McKenzie had composed a tribute of thanks to the families whose farmsteads surrounded the church. The twenty-two-year-old officer reminded his audience that "when we remember that we are fighting in defense of the home and fire-sides of such noble, and patriotic friends, it will encourage our hearts and nerve our arms to deeds of valor."[1] During the spring and summer of 1861 similar tributes affirming devotion to the community echoed across Rowan County. The area's young men, having little time or inclination to ponder the abstractions of states' rights, saw the unfolding Civil War as a struggle to protect their homes, neighbors, and society; and, with that goal as inducement, they formed military organizations that often reflected the locales that they had sworn to defend. The presence of kinsmen and friends among the ranks helped these soldiers, many of whom had not traveled widely beyond the borders of their neighborhoods, let alone the county, to understand the cause for which they were fighting. Rowan Confederates approached enlistment much as they approached other events that influenced their lives, with an eye to the community and its welfare. Important as this motive was in determining the timing of enlistment among Rowan County's volunteers of 1861 and 1862, this aspect of joining up is seldom noted by those today who seek to understand the Civil War.[2]

1. *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), June 27, 1861. The Ebenezer Methodist Church was located ten miles west of Salisbury.

2. Although Civil War soldiers left a tremendous number of letters and diaries detailing their lives in camp, for many years these documents were used merely to provide anecdotes for general surveys, biographies of military and civilian leaders, battle narratives, and unit histories. Prior to Bell Irvin Wiley's pioneering work of the 1940s, very little thought was directed to the ways in which the war affected those who bore the brunt of fighting. The appearance of Wiley's "biographies" introduced a new phase in Civil War historiography that anticipated the more recent "new" military history with its shift away from strategy, generalship, and

During 1862, as the Richmond government began to make increasing demands upon Southerners in order to continue the war effort, the intertwined loyalties of Rowan County soldiers to both the Confederacy and their families and communities broke apart. Forced to choose between either the threat posed by invading Northern armies at the war front or the suffering caused by the Confederacy's drain upon local manpower at home, the county's soldiers began to desert for the very reason that they had enlisted—to defend the welfare of their families. By the following year the unity created in Rowan County by the Civil War had begun to unravel, opening the door for more serious demonstrations of disaffection than desertion. In order to understand this progression, it is first necessary to investigate the nature of local society before the war.

In the spring of 1861 Rowan County was home to more than two thousand families scattered in small communities throughout the countryside. Two urban areas, the administrative and trade center of Salisbury and the mining town of Gold Hill, accounted for roughly 16 percent of Rowan County's 10,523 white inhabitants. In addition to housing the majority of the county's artisanal, entrepreneurial, and professional classes, both of these towns possessed a highly transient population.[3] Less mobile

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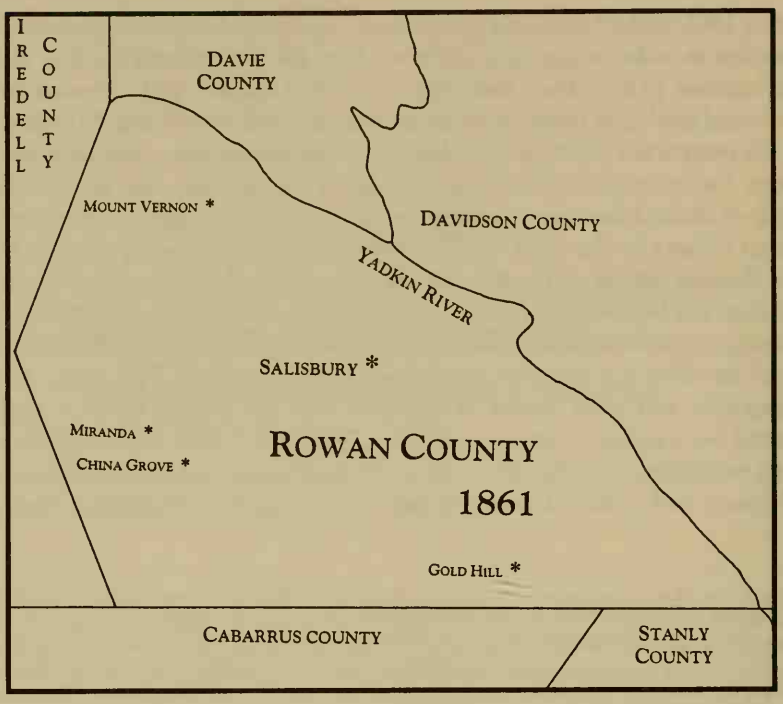
the pomp of war to an examination of military institutions, civilian-military relations, and the life of the common soldier. See Wiley's *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1943) and *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1952). Other pioneering studies of the rank and file can be found in Bruce Catton, "Billy Yank and the Army of the Potomac," *Military Affairs* 18 (winter 1954): 169-176, and David Donald, "The Confederate as Fighting Man," *Journal of Southern History* 25 (May 1959): 178-193. More recent examples of studies that focus on the experiences of the men in the ranks include James I. Robertson Jr., *Soldiers Blue and Gray* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), which hews to the narrative tradition of Wiley, and the works by Reid Mitchell, Joseph T. Glatthaar, Gerald F. Linderman, Michael Barton, and Randall C. Jimerson. See Mitchell's *Civil War Soldiers* (New York: Viking, 1988) and *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Glatthaar's *The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns* (New York: New York University Press, 1985); Linderman's *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987); Barton's *Goodmen: The Character of Civil War Soldiers* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1981); and Jimerson's *The Private Civil War: Popular Thought during the Sectional Conflict* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988). Also to be commended are Joseph Allan Frank and George A. Reaves, joint authors of *"Seeing the Elephant": Raw Recruits at the Battle of Shiloh* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989). A new phase in Civil War historiography, which seeks to combine the "new" military history with the wealth of scholarly local studies appearing since the end of the 1950s, has recently opened as historians explore the ways in which the conflict touched both the soldiers and the lives of those "whose homes they invaded and whose lands they trespassed." Daniel E. Sutherland, "Getting the 'Real War' into the Books," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98 (April 1990): 201. For examples of this trend, see Wayne K. Durrill, *War of Another Kind: A Southern Community in the Great Rebellion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), and Stephen V. Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988). For an overview of Civil War literature and its future trends, see Marvin R. Cain, "A 'Face of Battle' Needed: An Assessment of Motives and Men in Civil War Historiography," *Civil War History* 28 (March 1982): 5-27, and Sutherland, "Getting the 'Real War' into the Books."

3. U.S. Census Office, *Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (1864; New York: Norman Ross, Publisher, 1990), 350-351, 359; U.S. Census Office, *Statistics of the United States (Including Mortality, Property, &c.) in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (1866; New York: Norman Ross, Publisher, 1990), 347. In 1860 Gold Hill had a white population of 405 individuals. In addition to these urbanites, Salisbury's 1,267 white inhabitants gave Rowan County an urban population of 15.8 percent. Both towns experienced a considerable degree of migration. Fifty percent of Gold Hill's whites recorded in the 1860 census had moved into the area during the previous decade. Brent D. Glass



The majority of the inhabitants of Rowan County in 1861 lived on farms. The residents of the county seat, Salisbury, and the mining town Gold Hill accounted for only 16 percent of the county's population. Map depicting Rowan County, ca. 1861, by W. A. Owens.

were the agricultural settlements that surrounded the towns. Many of the residents of these farming communities could trace their roots to the German and Scotch-Irish settlers who had filtered into the area during the mid-eighteenth century. Over the subsequent hundred years, marriages between the descendants of these families bound the county's neighborhoods by tight, kin-centered webs. The result was a community of individuals whose allegiance focused upon one's home and the narrow circle of acquaintances around which everyday life revolved.[4]

found that between 1850 and 1860 a mere 21 percent of Gold Hill's miners continued to call the town home. Glass, "The Miner's World: Life and Labor at Gold Hill," *North Carolina Historical Review* 62 (October 1985): 440.

4. Several historians have characterized antebellum southern life as relatively isolated with seclusion being broken only by trips to local stores or churches and visits to nearby kinsmen. Robert C. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community: Orange County, North Carolina, 1849-1881* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 35-38; Bill Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites: Class and Culture in Antebellum North Carolina* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 150-156; Lacy K. Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 5-6, 19-20, 31-32, 37. Life in the rural communities of the Yadkin and Catawba River valleys was similarly isolated. *Carolina Watchman*, August 26, 1852; J. A. Stikeleather, "Recollections of the Late War," Edward Augustus Osborne Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

The ninety-six households served by the Mount Vernon post office in Rowan County's northwest corner underscore the intricate ties found in rural North Carolina in 1861. One-third of these families were related through either kinship or marriage.[5] Kinsmen clustered together on adjacent tracts of land or lived within a few of miles of each other. Among these small knots of kinfolk were the households of Margaret Donoho and Lee Steele (Figure 1), located about four and one-half miles apart and linked through Steele's marriage to Donoho's daughter, Elizabeth.[6]

FIGURE 1
Donoho and Steele Households, 1860

Household no. 672	Age	Household no. 658	Age
Margaret Donoho	48	Lee Steele	24
Henry Franklin,	28	Elizabeth,	24
David,	21	John,	4
Mary Jane,	17	Ramsey,	2
Margaret,	16		
Newberry,	14		
Nathan,	10		
Hiram,	9		

SOURCE: Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County Free Population Schedule.

Although the Donohos owned fifty-five improved acres in 1850, the family's fortunes declined to the point where, ten years later, they were landless tenants probably living on their former landholdings. Further illustrative of the family's low standing was its position near the bottom of Mount Vernon's social scale, ranking sixty-fourth among the community's eighty households that reported a modicum of wealth in 1860. Despite

5. Similar situations of families being related by either kinship or marriage existed in the communities of Miranda (30 percent), Deep Well (35 percent), and Coddle Creek (43 percent), all located in the southwestern part of the county. See the Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County, Population Schedule, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (microfilm, State Archives, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh); Brent Holcomb, *Marriages of Rowan County, North Carolina, 1753-1868* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1981); and Jo White Linn, *1850 Census of Rowan County, North Carolina: A Genealogical Compilation of All Six Schedules* (Salisbury: J. W. Linn, 1992). Additional ties between farmsteads in these communities undoubtedly existed as is indicated by shared surnames. In Miranda, 46.2 percent of the households shared surnames. In his study of Georgia's up-country yeomanry, Steven Hahn estimates that at least 25 percent of the farmsteads shared kinship with one or more of their neighbors. See Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 53. See also Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood*, 6-28. Further linking the households of Mount Vernon was church affiliation: twenty-four of the community's ninety-six households belonged to Third Creek Presbyterian Church. See John Kerr Fleming, *History of the Third Creek Presbyterian Church, Cleveland, North Carolina, 1787-1966, Concord Presbytery* (Raleigh: Offset Compositors and the Office of the Synod of North Carolina, 1967).

6. In addition to the Steele household, the family of Margaret Donoho was also linked to that of Silas L. Smith (household no. 632) by the marriage of Martha Maria Donoho to Smith in 1857. *Carolina Watchman*, October 6, 1857; Holcomb, *Marriages of Rowan County*, 382. The 1860 census recorded 2,493 households in Rowan County.

their poverty the Donohos worked together to plant enough food to meet their personal needs. Neither Margaret Donoho nor her kinsman, Lee Steele, owned or rented African American bondsmen; instead, the two families achieved self-sufficiency—as did the majority of Rowan County's yeomanry—by using a mixture of the labor supplied by family members and neighbors. Henry Franklin Donoho and his younger brothers, David and Newberry, plowed enough land to plant sixteen acres of corn, the dietary staple of southerners and their beasts. They also raised fifteen acres of wheat, enough to provide a marketable surplus. Planting and hoeing were left to the younger Donohos of both sexes, whose chores would have also included assisting with the harvest, milking, spinning, and washing.[7] Labor was likely traded with the Steele household, which contained fewer persons able to work its fields and was conceivably less able to meet the demands placed upon it by the twenty-six acres of corn and sixteen acres of wheat that Lee Steele tended.[8]

As indicated by the example of the Donoho family, Rowan County farmers attached a high degree of importance to crops that provided sustenance for their households and livestock. Emphasis on subsistence agriculture among the farmsteads located in the western half of the county enabled between 77 and 92 percent of these farmers to achieve self-sufficiency in food production.[9] Although the newly built North Carolina Railroad brought improved connections to larger commercial centers and opened new markets for farmers in the 1850s, Rowan County's yeomanry continued to focus their efforts on the production of foodstuffs rather than on more profitable staple crops such as tobacco or cotton. The decade witnessed an increase in the number of farmers producing more than one hundred bushels of wheat, an amount that, according to Paul Escott, easily met family needs and provided a marketable surplus.[10] In 1860, 72 percent

7. For a good indication of how agricultural and domestic chores were divided among age and gender in the Yadkin and Catawba River valleys, see the responses of Smith Ferguson Paine, G. H. Cline, Finley Patterson Curtis Sr., and Henry Alexander Chambers in Colleen Morse Elliott and Louise Armstrong Moxley, eds., *The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires*, 5 vols. (Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1985), 2:428, 517, 613, 4:1682. Fred A. Bailey discusses many of the tasks that occupied the agricultural year and the necessity that every able member of a farming family—especially among nonslaveholders such as the Donohos and Steeles—provide assistance. See Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 26-29, 35-36.

8. Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County, Agricultural Schedule, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (microfilm, State Archives). The figures for acres planted are based on data from the 1860 census agricultural schedule and crop yields from Cabarrus, Iredell, and Orange Counties as reported in *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1850, Part II: Agriculture*, 31st Cong., 2d sess., 1850-1851, Ex. Doc. 32, 325-326, 368-370, 375-377.

9. Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County, Agricultural Schedule; J. William Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society: White Liberty and Black Slavery in Augusta's Hinterland* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), 200; Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 251. In the neighborhoods of Coddle Creek and Miranda, 92.3 percent of the families recorded in the 1860 agricultural schedule were self-sufficient. Similarly, a large number of farm families in Deep Well (77.7 percent) and Mount Vernon (78.3 percent) attained an ability to feed themselves. For interpretations of the Old South that stress the importance of self-sufficiency to its republican farmers, see generally, Hahn, *Roots of Southern Populism*, and Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978).

10. Paul D. Escott, "Yeoman Independence and the Market: Social Status and Economic Development in Antebellum North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 66 (July 1989): 291-292. In 1850 slightly

The Rowan Rifle Guard was formed in early 1857 by members of the county's elite families. The unit was sent to the North Carolina coast to garrison Fort Johnston in late April 1861. In the ranks was twenty-one-year-old Meshack Franklin Hunt, whose heart, like that of his fellow volunteers, swelled with devotion to "kindred, country and cause." Serving throughout the war and wounded twice, 1st Lieutenant Hunt was paroled at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865. Photograph of image from the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

of Mount Vernon's farms, including that of the Donohos, recorded a wheat harvest of more than one hundred bushels. Responding to the encouragement of either the market or the demands of their landlord, the Donohos increased the amount of wheat they planted between 1850 and 1860.[11] Like the majority of his neighbors, Henry Franklin

more than 25 percent of Rowan County's farming households produced more than one hundred bushels of wheat. Ten years later the figure had climbed to 44 percent. Escott concludes that the nonslaveholding farmers living in the Piedmont, including those of Rowan County, quickly embraced the market after construction of the North Carolina Railroad during the early 1850s. Escott, "Yeoman Independence and the Market," 291-297.

11. Seventh Census, 1850: Rowan County, Agricultural Schedule, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (microfilm, States Archives); Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County, Agricultural Schedule. In 1850 Hiram Donoho, the family's head, was able to feed his family and livestock from the thirty acres of corn and eleven acres of wheat that he planted. The wheat grown by the Donohos between 1850 and 1860 was largely superfluous as the family could have met their subsistence requirements from their corn crop alone.

Donoho resisted the temptation to risk everything on an inedible staple crop, the failure of which might leave his family without food or an income. Only 22 percent of Mount Vernon's farmers combined staple production with the raising of food crops, and even these daring men devoted but a small amount of their improved acreage to either cotton or tobacco.[12] These farmers reacted to the incursion of the market in a positive fashion as indicated by their production of a marked surplus of grain, but their choice of crops reveals a pattern of safety-first agriculture that placed survival of the household foremost, a model that had been followed for years.

Household self-sufficiency was a vital part of the ideology to which Rowan County's white inhabitants adhered. Southerners, whether planter or plain folk, were dedicated to a republicanism that advocated personal autonomy and feared both dependency and a concentration of power. For small farmers, land ownership was a crucial component of this republican value system. The yeoman's wealth, independence, social status, and even his political autonomy were represented by his landholdings. The common status as property owners bound plain whites, small slaveholders, and planters alike. By 1860 the possibility of acquiring land was becoming increasingly diminished in the Yadkin River valley. Young men, such as G. H. Cline of Cabarrus County, could bemoan the fact that "the opportunity to buy land was not as good generally in an old settled county [such as Cabarrus or Rowan] as in a newer [county] where land was cheaper."[13]

Behind these declining prospects was the transformation wrought by the previous decade's growth, which benefited local society in a haphazard fashion. Small farmers, desiring to accumulate enough acres to allow their children to attain the same economic independence that they enjoyed, found themselves squeezed by the combination of an increasing population, a finite amount of land, and rising prices for the available soil. According to John Jacob Beck, by 1860 Rowan County's nonslaveholding farmers, tradesmen, and small manufacturers found themselves at a disadvantage.[14] More hopeless was the situation faced by the county's tenant farmers—individuals who owned no land. Landless whites of the North Carolina Piedmont, who comprised between one-quarter and one-third of the area's population, found their opportunities for advancement limited to the temporary needs of planters and prosperous yeomen capable of hiring labor during harvest time. Commercial agriculture, which inflated land prices, and the onerous credit system that accompanied it placed additional stumbling blocks in the path of tenants hoping to save enough money to buy a farm.[15] Under these conditions a permanent class of landless whites emerged. Among them was Jesse Inness of Mount Vernon, a thirty-five-year-old farmer who owned no land yet had

12. Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County, Agricultural Schedule.

13. Elliott and Moxley, *Veterans Questionnaires*, 2:518.

14. John Jacob Beck, "Development in the Piedmont South: Rowan County, North Carolina, 1850-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1984), 76-77. Also at a loss were the Cornish and Tyrolean miners of Gold Hill, whose services were less needed as the gold industry declined. Glass, "The Miner's World," 440.

15. Charles C. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 14-27.

advanced from being a boarding laborer to the position of head of a tenant household during the 1850s.[16]

An alternative to this situation, and one rejected by Inness, was to leave the region in search of opportunities that would allow those less fortunate to accumulate the capital to establish an independent household. Young, unmarried men in particular seem to have adopted this strategy. However, not all could leave: yeoman patriarchs carefully regulated the dispensation of their lands in order to control their children, a situation that resulted in sons commonly remaining under their father's roof until they reached their mid-twenties.[17] On the eve of the Civil War the bulk of Rowan County property was held by these elders. Half of Mount Vernon's ninety-six farmsteads were held by individuals aged forty-seven or older.[18] Although unevenly distributed in regard to age, property—respect for it and the desire to acquire it—united the county's white residents of all social classes.

Respect for property also influenced whites throughout the Yadkin River valley to support that uniquely southern form of property—slavery. In early 1860 a small farmer from Stanly County named John T. Howell castigated his neighbors when they proved lukewarm to defend the peculiar institution. Introducing himself as a nonslaveholder, Howell affirmed his belief that "[a] slave is a man's property" and, as a fellow property owner, "if I see slaveholders imposed upon, it is my duty to help them."[19] Yeomen respected slaves as property, very desirable property; and, when circumstances permitted, they strove to acquire bondsmen. During late 1856, with local attention focused upon the fate of slavery in Kansas, Salisbury's *Republican Banner* reprinted a column from the New Orleans *Delta* that advocated reopening the African slave trade so "that every white man might have a chance to make himself the owner of one or more negroes."[20] This sentiment found a welcome audience among Rowan's yeomanry, several of whom

16. Linn, *1850 Census*, 53; Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County, Population Schedule.

17. James Oakes, *Slavery and Freedom: An Interpretation of the Old South* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1990), 114.

18. Similar situations of real property being concentrated in the hands of those in their mid-forties or older existed in Miranda (54.8 percent), Coddle Creek (42.3 percent), and Deep Well (48.7 percent). Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County, Population Schedule.

19. *Salisbury Banner*, February 14, 1860; Eighth Census, 1860: Stanly County, Population Schedule, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (microfilm, State Archives). See also John C. Inscoe, *Mountain Masters, Slavery and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 110. Nine years earlier, Rowan County citizens expressed themselves in terms that anticipated Howell's remarks. Deploring the fact that southern purchases of northern manufactured goods indirectly provided the capital used by abolitionists to fuel their attacks upon slavery, the county's artisans and farmers urged the state to enact a bounty system that would encourage home manufacturing. Such a move would not only enhance the local economy and deplete the resources of northern foes, it would protect "a very large portion of the property of the citizens of this state." At least 70 percent of the 124 individuals who expressed support for this idea—like Stanly County's John T. Howell—belonged to the yeomanry. Petition from "Mechanicks of the County of Rowan and others friendly to the industrial pursuits," Session of 1850-1851, General Assembly Session Records, State Archives.

20. *Republican Banner* (Salisbury), October 18, 1856. Although believing that the *Delta*'s position was "open to controversy," editors John C. Cannon and George H. Spencer of Salisbury praised the article's "bold and manly tone" for raising "social questions . . . serving of consideration." On the yeomanry's desire to acquire slaves, see Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949), 133-134; Eugene D. Genovese, "Yeoman Farmers in a Slaveholders' Democracy," *Agricultural History* 49 (April 1974): 339-340; Inscoe, *Mountain Masters*. 112.

became slaveholders between 1850 and 1860.[21] Among the new slave owners foreseen by the *Delta* was Alphonso G. Holder of Mount Vernon. In 1850 he was a carriage trimmer living with his employer; however, by 1860 he had become a farmer who owned seventy-five acres and two slaves.[22] For former yeomen and artisans such as Holder, entry into the ranks of local slaveholders not only increased their wealth but also heightened their status as patriarchs by increasing the number of individuals who were dependent upon them. Interestingly, the position of the yeomanry had already been elevated by slavery. By raising all whites to the ruling class regardless of their economic standing, slavery reduced the potential for class conflict.[23] However poor and backward some whites may have been, they were, after all, still white. African American slaves became the mudsill upon which white society and harmony rested. In the midst of this society the secession crisis of 1860-1861 developed.

Initially Rowan County residents divided into unionist and secessionist camps.[24] After Abraham Lincoln called upon North Carolina to assist in the forcible restoration of the Union in mid-April 1861, these people saw no alternative and laid aside their political differences.[25] The sentiment expressed by one of Guilford County's former unionists upon the state's rejection of President Lincoln's belligerent stance, "We are all one now," could just as easily have been uttered by a townsman living in Salisbury.[26] The newfound unity proved fragile, and the citizens of Rowan County quickly discovered that the prospect of warfare loosened the bonds that had previously brought local society together. Younger sons, their hopes to establish independent households blighted

21. The slave population schedule of the 1860 census indicates 158 Rowan County citizens who owned slaves, an increase of 26.5 percent from a decade earlier. Seventh Census, 1850: Rowan County, Slave Schedule, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (microfilm, State Archives); Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County, Slave Schedule, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (microfilm, State Archives); Linn, *1850 Census*.

22. Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County Agricultural, Population, and Slave Schedules; Linn, *1850 Census*, 30.

23. Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry*, 37-38.

24. Between December 1860 and late February 1861, support for secession was largely confined to the county seat of Salisbury. An urban-rural dichotomy marked Rowan County's path toward separation from the Union. In a survey of seventy-one unionists and twenty-eight secessionists, only 12.7 percent of the unionists lived in a town while 78.6 percent of the secessionists were urbanites. More than a division between town and countryside distinguished the county's Union men from their extremist counterparts: wealth, occupation, and slaveholdings also differentiated the two groups with the local secessionists being slightly younger, more affluent, and more committed to slavery than their opponents. Given their urban origins, it is not surprising that secessionists also drew more heavily upon Rowan County's professional and capitalist classes. *Carolina Watchman*, July 10, December 4, 25, 1860, January 1, 15, 18, 22, 29, 1861; *State Journal* (Raleigh), January 19, March 20, 1861; *Salisbury Banner*, July 10, 1860; Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County Population and Slave Schedules. See also Michael P. Johnson, *Toward a Patriarchal Republic: The Secession of Georgia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 73-76.

25. *Carolina Watchman*, May 7, June 27, 1861. The bombardment of Fort Sumter (April 12), Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops (April 15), which included levies upon those southern states that had not yet seceded, and Virginia's secession (April 17) have traditionally been seen by historians as combining to stifle what unionist sentiment remained in North Carolina. See J. Carlyle Sitterson, *The Secession Movement in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939); John Gilchrist Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina* (1963; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 9-10, 13; Marc W. Kruman, *Parties and Politics in North Carolina, 1836-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 180-221.

26. Barrett, *Civil War in North Carolina*, 17.

by a combination of pressures brought on by population growth and the limited benefits of the market incursion of the 1850s, saw in the stirrings of war a chance to slip the yokes that forced them to remain in their parents' households. For example, David H. Correll of Mount Vernon disappointed his father's hopes that he would relieve "his aged father . . . of many of life's cares" and stay at home.[27] Instead, the nineteen-year-old found the lure of Confederate service more enticing than remaining behind and caring for both his sixty-seven-year-old father and a handicapped brother. Similarly, Joseph Fisher, a unionist who lived in the northern part of the county near the Corrells, had to stand by and watch the control that he had previously exerted over his second son, Henderson, slip away. Forsaking the politics of the elder Fisher, young Henderson thought "it was a nice big thing to get into the service" and importuned his father until he was allowed to enlist in 1864.[28] Yet, just as the war liberated young men like David Correll and Henderson Fisher, it also bound them even tighter to their communities.

During the spring of 1861 with the prospect of war becoming a reality, local youths who had sought their fortune beyond the borders of Rowan County traveled home to enlist with their kinsmen and acquaintances. Among these wanderers was Leonard A. Henderson of Salisbury, who had already tasted the excitement of martial pomp that spring as a member of the contingent from the University of Virginia that occupied Harper's Ferry. In early May, Henderson returned home and joined one of Salisbury's elite volunteer companies, the Rowan Rifle Guard, to "fight under the banner of my native state."[29] Joining Len Henderson in the ranks of the Rifle Guards was Jacob L. Fraley, whose "patriotic devotion" caused him to hasten "to his native county" all the way from Texas.[30]

Thought to be obedient, devoted, and retiring in character, Rowan County sons carried an allegiance to their home community with them wherever they went. This loyalty crossed the unseen boundaries of class. Len Henderson, for example, belonged to the county's planter elite while Jacob Fraley represented the less affluent, smaller slave owners. Yet their hearts, like those of their comrades in the Rowan Rifle Guard, were filled with the same sentiments: "They were . . . proud of their kindred, their

27. *Carolina Watchman*, February 23, 1863.

28. Testimony of Jacob Fisher, February 14, 1874, Rowan County, Claim no. 41,430, Southern Claims Commission Case no. 471, as quoted in Michael K. Honey, "The War within the Confederacy: White Unionists of North Carolina," *Prologue* 18 (summer 1986): 80.

29. Leonard A. Henderson to Archibald Henderson, May 4, 1861, John Steele Henderson Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

30. *Carolina Watchman*, October 31, 1864. Similarly, James Wilson Overcash and William W. Lawrence, both members of the Deep Well community located along the county's western border, returned home during the spring of 1861 to enlist. See Joseph Overcash to James Wilson Overcash, June 19, 1861, Joseph Overcash Papers, Special Collections Department, Duke University Library, Durham. As conscription loomed during the winter and spring of 1862, other wanderers returned to Rowan County to enlist with their kinsmen and former neighbors. An example of this can be seen in the enlistment of cousins Eli and Henry A. Seaford. Between the completion of the Rowan County census in September 1860 and the early months of 1862, the two men had moved to Burke County in search of employment. In March of 1862 they returned to the county of their birth in order to enlist in William L. Saunders's infantry company. *Carolina Watchman*, March 10, 1862; Louis H. Manarin and Weymouth T. Jordan Jr., comps., *North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865: A Roster*, 13 vols. to date (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1966–), 11:156.

country, and their cause. . . . And few were the hearts . . . [among these] volunteer soldiers that did not swell with devotion to [North Carolina] and her interests."[31]

Devotion to the state and community also involved the protection of the valued loyalties embodied in that commitment. The belief that their kin and social order were threatened drove the county's young men more than the concept of states' rights. With their lives governed by an agricultural schedule that afforded little time for recreation, the yeomen of Rowan County worked year round to ensure their own survival. These tasks robbed the southern farmer of the leisure time necessary to ponder "abstract issues that had small meaning to his daily existence. A sweating plowman had little interest in the morality of slavery or the constitutional validity of states rights."[32] Instead, when they discussed the crisis facing them, Rowan Confederates viewed the issue in terms of the challenge to the community. At meetings held throughout the county during the spring of 1861, such as that of early May in Salisbury, local rebels resolved "to protect our homes and . . . to hold ourselves in readiness . . . to meet the enemy of our Country—the common enemy of our institutions . . . and the invaders of [our] homes and firesides."[33] In the view of Rowan Confederates, the invaders from the North were no better than hired assassins who hoped not only to rob and rape but also to eradicate slavery.

The prospect of racial equality was perhaps the greatest terror that faced antebellum white southerners. Mindful of this, Rowan County's leading Democrats admonished their fellow citizens of the threat of racial mingling and intermarriage, both of which had rendered the "very heart of the [northern] social fabric utterly rotten." They also warned of the potential of rape and murder from newly freed slaves, which would be "the best [that] we can expect."[34] Even worse, the abolition of slavery meant that the

31. *Carolina Watchman*, May 7, 1861.

32. Bailey, *Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 29. Reflecting back upon his military career as a Confederate soldier, J. A. Stikeleather of Iredell County recalled that in 1861 "The question of the right of secession in the abstract bothered us but little." Much the same could be said for Rowan County's youths, many of whom, like Stikeleather, grew up in pro-Union households and would not have shared the local Democrats' fervent belief in states' rights. See Stikeleather, "Recollections of the Civil War in the United States" [1909], Bryan Grimes Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

33. *Carolina Watchman*, May 9, June 27, August 12, 1861. During early 1862, Charles W. Bradshaw drew upon this sentiment as he exhorted volunteers to enlist in his company to "fight for your brothers, your sons, and your daughters, your wives, and your homes." *Salisbury Banner*, March 4, 1862. Martin Crawford has noted that similar sentiments drove Ashe County's mountaineers into Confederate service. Crawford, "Confederate Volunteering and Enlistment in Ashe County, North Carolina, 1861-1862," *Civil War History* 37 (March 1991): 31-32.

34. *Salisbury Banner*, February 19, 1861; Charles F. Fisher to the Voters of Rowan, February 26, 1861, William Laurence Saunders Papers, Southern Historical Collection. Equally disturbing was the prospect of increased economic competition between white and black Rowan County mechanics—artisans, carpenters, masons, and others whose income derived from their hands. In 1851 the county's tradesmen, alarmed that North Carolina's "mechanical arts are greatly depressed . . . by an undue competition arising . . . from free negro mechanicks," petitioned the state legislature to return freedmen to a situation reminiscent of slavery as perpetual apprentices under the guidance of white masters. Such a measure would allow a white artisan to "live an honest and respectable life, accumulating a sufficiency . . . to support his family with comfort and give to his children a good moral and intellectual education," while preventing the "pilfering and theft" of the "dishonest and idle free negroes" who worked only when they chose and undersold their white competitors. The majority of the signatories who endorsed this idea were inhabitants of Salisbury and Gold Hill, where 66 percent of the county's free blacks resided in 1860. Frequent contact with these African

precarious bonds among whites of different social classes would dissolve and class tensions that had lain dormant might burst into flame. For the harmony that existed in the county to continue, secession as a defense of slavery was necessary.

These threats to the community and its social order caused Rowan youths to flock to the Confederate banner throughout 1861 and 1862. Between April of 1861 and the end of that year the county formed eight companies of infantry and one of artillery with a total of 631 men.[35] The following year five more companies of infantry and portions of an additional four units were recruited from among the county's inhabitants.[36]

Highly local in composition, the Rowan County companies resembled the communities from which their members came. Neighbors greeted neighbors, fellow church members, and kinsmen among the ranks. The Scotch-Ireland Grays, for example, included at least three sets of brothers, among them Stokes McKenzie and his older brother, William. In a sample of fifty men drawn from the ranks of the Grays, a total of nineteen individuals (38 percent) were related to at least one other person in the company. Others, including Lee Steele and David Donoho, were linked through affinal

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Americans and the resentment engendered by their potential as economic competitors may have predisposed Rowan County urbanites to embrace secession in 1861. See the petition from "Mechanicks of the County of Rowan and others friendly to the industrial pursuits," Session of 1850-1851, General Assembly Session Records, State Archives. A similar situation prevailed in the Cabarrus County town of Concord where, in 1853, white mechanics condemned the "free negroes [who] . . . came into the country and took away business that belonged to the white laborers." Concord, like Salisbury, was a hotbed of secession in 1861. See "Traveller" to editor, *New York Tribune*, February 5, 1856. On the intolerance of white North Carolinians for freed blacks as economic competitors, see John Hope Franklin, *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), 130-139.

35. Between April and June 1861, Rowan County raised six companies for regiments of the North Carolina State Troops: Companies B and K, Fourth Regiment; Companies E and K, Fifth Regiment; Company G, Sixth Regiment; and Company D, Tenth Regiment (First Artillery). The following August and September saw the formation of Company K, Eighth N.C. Troops, and Company D of the Thirty-fourth N.C. Troops. On August 21, 1861, Fisher's Rifle Guard, originally raised as the Salisbury Grays by William C. Lord, joined the Seventh N.C. Troops as Company F. Although a small number of its citizens could be found in Company F of the Ninth Regiment (First Cavalry) and Company B of the Tenth Virginia, Rowan County failed to raise an entire cavalry company. See Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 1:75-89, 2:53-61, 4:25-35, 103-113, 185-196, 244-255, 344-356, 462-473, 614-625, 9:285-293; John W. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War between the States*, 4 vols. (Raleigh: Ash and Gatling for the State of North Carolina, 1882), 4:435-437. The 631 Rowan County men recruited in 1861 accounted for 38.2 percent of the 1,651 white males aged twenty to thirty-nine residing in the county in 1860. By December 9, 1861, Rowan County ranked eleventh among North Carolina's eighty-six counties in the number of troops contributed to the Confederacy. *Western Democrat* (Charlotte), February 11, 1862; U.S. Census Office, *Population of the United States in 1860*, 349-351.

36. These new organizations included Companies A, C, and K of the Fifty-seventh N.C. Troops, all of which were created on July 4, 1862. Also from Rowan County were Companies B and G of the Forty-second N.C. Troops, which were formed between February and May of 1862. In the spring of 1862 the county contributed a sizable number of men to Company D, Forty-second Regiment; Company B, Forty-sixth Regiment; and Company C, Forty-ninth Regiment. Company B of the Fifty-seventh N.C. Troops, which included men from the Yadkin and Catawba River valleys, also drew heavily upon Rowan County for recruits. The county's final contribution in the form of manpower were the youths of Company B of the state's Second Junior Reserves, which was raised in May 1864. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 10:207-217, 228-240, 258-265, 11:148-159, 12:54-64; Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, 3:609-616, 626-628, 631-632, 4:307-309. By late March of 1862 these organizations had swollen the county's contribution to the Confederacy in terms of manpower to over 1,300 men. This number nearly coincides with the 1,651 Rowan County white males of military age (20-39) recorded in the 1860 census. *Carolina Watchman*, March 24, 1862; U.S. Census Office, *Population of the United States in 1860*, 349-351.

Twenty-two-year-old Montfort Stokes McKenzie enlisted in Rowan County's Scotch-Ireland Grays on June 3, 1861. Having "severed the ties that bound him to his father's home," he was characterized as "a dutiful and obedient son, an affectionate brother, warm friend . . . and a good Christian." A "brave soldier," McKenzie died on May 31, 1862, in Virginia, at the Battle of Seven Pines. Photograph of image in the collection of Michael J. Black, used by permission.

ties.[37] As the county's youths went to war in 1861, friendship and kinship worked to draw men into the same units. In late June 1861, William Locke Cowan, who had enlisted in a cavalry troop in neighboring Cabarrus County, requested a transfer into the Scotch-Ireland Grays because "a number of [his] relatives & all his friends" were in that company.[38]

37. Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County, Population Schedule; Linn, *1850 Census*; Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 4:25-35. The presence of a substantial number of kinsmen among the ranks was a common feature of Confederate military units. In his investigation of Virginia's Stonewall Brigade, James I. Robertson Jr. concluded that the brigade's rolls "read like genealogical tables" and aptly termed it a "cousinwealth." Robertson, *The Stonewall Brigade* (1963; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 21-22.

38. John Kerr Fleming, *The Cowans from County Down* (Raleigh: Derreth Print Co., 1971), 227. Among William Locke Cowan's kinsmen in the ranks of the Scotch-Ireland Grays was John Wilson Steele, who had wed Cowan's cousin in August 1860. A further link between Steele and Cowan was their church membership. Both men belonged to the Third Creek Presbyterian congregation, as did D. Calvin Brandon,

The presence of kinsmen, neighbors, and acquaintances in the ranks continually reminded Rowan Confederates of what they sought to protect—the community. These men inspired the uncommitted to enlist and helped them to make sense of the South's involvement in the war. Knowing that their hardships were shared by lifelong associates reduced the shock of adjustment to military life that faced the county's new recruits.[39] This collective experience enhanced the cohesiveness necessary in a military unit. In short, men such as Lee Steele, David Donoho, and the McKenzie brothers were the glue that held together organizations such as the Scotch-Ireland Grays during four years of warfare. Equally valuable were the officers, young men charged with overseeing the welfare of their troops. One Southern military theorist envisioned the role of a captain as one who was "responsible for the instruction, discipline, general efficiency and moral tone of the company." The duties inherent to the relationship between a father and his family were identical to those of an officer to his men.[40] Yet, the authority of the officers relied heavily on the approval of their troops. Leadership by example, impartiality, unpretentiousness, and courage all counted toward gaining the confidence of the average soldier.[41]

In choosing their officers Rowan Confederates re-created within their military organizations the social hierarchy of their communities. Although men in the various companies were free to elect their own officers, one's social standing—and the deference that accompanied it—proved to be a more valuable asset for election to the officers corps than actual military experience.[42] The majority of the county's officers were either more affluent than their troops or belonged to prominent local families. At the head of the Scotch-Ireland Grays, for example, was James Hall Wood, whose "high Christian principles made him a proper commander and leader."[43] More significant than his religious conviction was Wood's status as a member of one of Mount Vernon's most influential families.

James C. Hughes, Benjamin Allen Knox, and James Hall Wood of the Grays. Fleming, *Cowans from County Down*, 218, 225-227; Fleming, *History of the Third Creek Presbyterian*, 150. See also William Lillycross to Francis M. Y. McNeely, October 30, 1861, F. M. Y. McNeely Paper, Private Collections, State Archives.

39. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood*, 74.

40. William Gilham, *Manual of Instruction for the Volunteers and Militia of the Confederate States* (Richmond: West and Johnson, 1861), 29. See also Mitchell, *The Vacant Chair*, 51-52. Rowan Confederates also shared this view of their officers. *Carolina Watchman*, March 10, 1862; William L. Saunders to mother, April 20, 1862, William Laurence Saunders Papers.

41. *Carolina Watchman*, July 22, 1861, January 20, 1862. See also entry for July 21, 1862, in James W. Shinn Diary, Edward Augustus Osborne Papers.

42. Few of the officers from Rowan County had military experience beyond the occasional musters of the county's militia or the two elite volunteer companies housed in Salisbury. Only James A. Craige and James Hall Wood possessed a formal military education. The former had been a West Point cadet, the latter a student at Charlotte's North Carolina Military Institute. Their experience, however, did not extend past the daily drilling required of cadets; studies in military theory were not encountered until the fifth year of a cadet's education. A third Confederate officer, Pinkney A. Kennerly of the Mechanics' Guard (Company K, Eighth N.C. Troops), was a veteran of the Mexican War and would have had experience beyond that of his peers. *Carolina Watchman*, July 22, 1861; *Catalogue of the Officers and Cadets of the North Carolina Military Institute* (Charlotte, N.C.: n.p., 1860), 8-9, 14, 22, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

43. Fleming, *History of Third Creek Presbyterian*, 83.

Twenty-one-year-old James Hall Wood of Mt. Vernon was elected by the men of the Scotch-Ireland Grays as their captain in early June 1861. The son of William Burton Wood, a respected member of Third Creek Presbyterian Church and a trustee of Davidson College, Captain Wood had no prior military training but served with distinction throughout the war. Receiving several promotions, the last to the rank of colonel, Wood died at Snicker's Gap, Virginia, on July 18, 1864. Photograph from Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-'65* (Raleigh: E. M. Uzzell for the State of North Carolina, 1901), 1:facing 229.

In the eyes of their neighbors, Captain Wood's father, William, and older brother, Daniel, had proved themselves. The former played a prominent role in the affairs of Third Creek Presbyterian Church and Davidson College, the latter in county politics.[44] Prior to his death in 1853, the elder Wood owned seventy slaves and 1,290 acres of land valued at $13,000. These holdings confirmed his status as one of Mount Vernon's wealthiest men. Having inherited the bulk of his father's estate, Daniel Burton Wood ranked as the community's seventh wealthiest resident in 1860 with his ownership of nineteen slaves and seven hundred acres.[45] Maturing in such an accomplished family,

44. In 1833 William Burton Wood was a member of the Third Creek Presbyterian Church's building committee, which was charged with replacing an older wooden structure with a brick edifice. The following year he deeded two tracts of land totaling 4.5 acres to the church. From 1837 until the time of his death in 1853, he was one of the church's elders. Educated at the University of North Carolina, Wood worked to create both a local subscription school and a preparatory school. In 1838 he was chosen to be one of the first trustees for Davidson College. The mantle of his father's influence enabled Daniel Wood to enter local politics, where he served as a member of the county's nominating committees for both the Whig and American Parties in 1852 and 1856, respectively. In 1858 he unsuccessfully campaigned for one of Rowan County's two seats in the North Carolina House of Representatives. Fleming, *History of Third Creek Presbyterian*, 51, 54, 59-60, 62, 76, 145; *Carolina Watchman*, February 5, May 6, 1852; *Salisbury Herald*, April 2, 1856.

45. Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County, Population Schedule; Linn, *1850 Census*, 68. Although the 1860 census fails to credit him as owning property of any form, James Hall Wood was undoubtedly well-to-do. Following his death in 1864, James Wood's heirs divided an estate valued at $50,000. His legacy included

James Hall Wood was capable of handling the prestige and power exercised by his father and elder brother. In addition to respecting the Wood family for their wealth and community involvement, the Scotch-Ireland Grays knew the family as neighbors, fellow church members, and kinsmen—individuals who could be trusted.

James Wood's Scotch-Ireland Grays, like other Rowan County companies raised in the spring of 1861 immediately after the shelling of Fort Sumter, differed considerably from those units mustered later during the war. Bolstered by a naive zeal for combat, the first recruits of 1861 were generally young, unmarried men still living with their parents (Table 1).[46]

TABLE 1
Rowan Confederates, June 1861 - July 1862

Co. and Regt. N.C. Troops	Date Formed	Average Age	Average Wealth	Married	Independent Householders
Co. B, 4th Regt.	6/03/61	23	$5,015.00	16.0%	16.0%
Co. D, 34th Regt.	9/09/61	27	$5,529.07	35.5%	35.5%
Co. C, 49th Regt.	4/21/62	27	$2,650.70	46.9%	44.8%
Co. C, 57th Regt.	7/04/62	28	$2,279.61	63.8%	55.5%

SOURCES: Louis H. Manarin and Weymouth T. Jordan Jr., comps., *North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865: A Roster*, 13 vols. to date (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1966–), 4:25-35, 9:285-293, 12:54-64; John W. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War between the States*, 4 vols. (Raleigh: Ash and Gatling for the State of North Carolina, 1882), 3:614-616; Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County Free Population Schedule.

Given the widespread self-sufficiency of the county's farms and the large size of families, the loss of these youths to the army did not place a severe strain upon households. The lost labor was replaced either by the father or a brother old enough to manage the heavy tasks associated with farm work or through the assistance of neighbors. For example, Mount Vernon's Donoho family did not suffer greatly after twenty-two-year-old David enlisted in the Scotch-Ireland Grays on June 2, 1861. David's work was probably assumed by his older brother, Franklin, or fifteen-year-old Newberry.[47]

216 acres of improved land and thirteen slaves. Estate of James Hall Wood, 1864, Rowan County Estate Records, State Archives.

46. By examining the printed rosters for Rowan County's Confederate military organizations that appear in Manarin and Jordan's *North Carolina Troops* and John W. Moore's *Roster of North Carolina Troops* against the various schedules of the 1860 census, a sample of recruits for 1861 (292) and 1862 (260) was created. The companies highlighted in Table 1 are representative of the trends noted among these 552 Confederates. See also Crawford, "Confederate Volunteering and Enlistment," 43-45.

47. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 4:28. By the end of the war both Franklin and Newberry Donoho had followed their brother into service. Franklin entered Company E of the Fifth North Carolina in August 1862, and Newberry enlisted in David's company between January 12 and February 20, 1864. The Donoho's brother-in-law, Silas L. Smith, had been conscripted into the Fifth Regiment on August 8, 1862. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 4:28; "Donaho, Henry F.," Applications for Pensions, Act of 1885, Confederate Pension Records, Pension Office, Records of the State Auditor, State Archives. Martin

As 1861 ended, however, a different picture emerged. Rowan County recruits of 1862 proved to be less well-to-do, older, independent householders with young children of their own. The presence of married men in the ranks began to rise during the late summer of 1861 as a second wave of volunteering swept the county. By the end of the following year, the number of married men in the companies had steadily increased, as is evident from the pattern of enlistments from four communities (Table 2).

TABLE 2
Enlistment Trends, April 1861 - July 1862

Date of Enlistment	Unmarried Recruits	Married Recruits without Children	Married Recruits with Children
April - July 1861	78.6%	7.1%	14.3%
August - Sept. 1861	66.7%	9.5%	23.8%
January - April 1862	52.9%	5.9%	41.2%
July 1862	58.8%	5.9%	35.3%

SOURCES: Louis H. Manarin and Weymouth T. Jordan Jr., comps., *North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865: A Roster*; John W. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War between the States*; Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County Free Population Schedule for Coddle Creek, Deep Well, Miranda, and Mount Vernon.

Among the husbands and fathers enlisting in 1862 was John Lewis Correll of Mount Vernon, a twenty-nine-year-old farmer with a five-year-old son, a two-year-old daughter, and an estate valued in 1860 at $950. Neither Correll's wife nor his children were capable of successfully managing the family's livestock or its forty improved acres.[48] The loss of Lewis's labor following his conscription into the army in early July of 1862 must have proved burdensome for the household.[49] The strain on families like the Corrells due to the loss of their labor forced Zebulon Baird Vance, North Carolina's wartime governor, to request that Confederate authorities send men home to assist with the planting and harvesting.[50]

The delayed enlistment of Lewis Correll implies that Rowan County's various socioeconomic classes employed different strategies in timing their entry into military service. Enlistment was approached in the same light that a farmer viewed his fields—the security of the family had to be assured before either planting for the market or fighting for the Confederacy. Such a sentiment impelled nineteen-year-old John F. N.

Crawford has noted a similar pattern in Ashe County, where the households that were most able to absorb the loss of one or more males to military services were among the county's strongest supporters of the Confederacy. Crawford, "Confederate Volunteering and Enlistment," 45.

48. Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County, Population and Agricultural Schedules; U.S. Census Office, *Statistics of the United States*, 309, 347. The average estate in Rowan County in 1860 was valued at $4,908.18.

49. On July 4, 1862, Correll, along with his kinsman, William W. Correll, joined Company K of the Fifty-seventh N.C. Troops. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, 3:632.

50. Paul D. Escott, *Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in North Carolina, 1850-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 54.

By the end of 1861, an increasing number of independent householders began to appear among Rowan County's Confederate troops. Among them was thirty-four-year-old Edward Sloop, who joined the Oakland Guards (Company D, 34th Regiment, N.C. Troops) on September 9, 1861. Dying in a Confederate hospital in Richmond, Virginia, on July 30, 1862, he left a wife and three young daughters, one of whom was a deaf-mute, to tend the family's seventy-acre farm. Photograph of image in the collection of Mrs. Phyllis S. Moysan, used by permission.

Fesperman of the Back Creek community, who became the sole provider for his mother's household in 1861 following the death of his father and departure of his older brother, Levi. During the first wave of recruitment in 1861, the younger Fesperman had attempted to follow his brother into service; but, thinking "they did not nead . . . [him] there," he remained at home and "raised a crop" for his mother.[51] Having completed the harvest, plowed the land, and planted the new crops, John Fesperman enlisted for Confederate service on April 24, 1862.[52]

The caution demonstrated by John Fesperman's decision to raise a crop before enlisting was widespread in Rowan County by late 1861. During the fall of that year concerns arose over whether an adequate amount of foodstuffs was available among the

51. Levi A. Fesperman to John [F. N. Fesperman], September 4, 1861, Caleb Hampton Papers, Duke Special Collections.

52. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 10:261. Fesperman's name is erroneously recorded as John "M." in the rosters by Manarin and Jordan and John W. Moore.

households most affected by the war. Addressing these fears, the editor of the *Carolina Watchman* assured his readers that the state's current grain crop was sufficient to feed North Carolinians for two years. Despite this surplus, the newspaper urged the county's farmers to carefully conserve their bounty in case Federal troops decided to use their tenuous hold on the state's coast as a springboard for invading the interior. If the feared Union attack on the North Carolina heartland occurred, "there will necessarily be many others called away from their farms, and in most cases the strongest and best hands will be taken . . . seriously . . . [compromising] the regular farm business of the people" and forcing local civilians to be "largely dependent on the present years' crop for . . . the next two years."[53]

Over the following six months, the specter of food shortages in North Carolina lingered. By the summer of 1862 the loss of farm labor combined with bad weather began to turn this fear into a reality in parts of the Piedmont. Meanwhile, at the war front entire companies of North Carolinians were begging to be given furloughs for the sole purpose of returning home to plant crops lest their families be "seriously damaged or entirely lost without their help."[54] Communities that previously enjoyed high rates of self-sufficiency began to watch closely the activities of their inhabitants to prevent needed supplies from being wasted. In mid-December 1861, for example, seven members of Third Creek Presbyterian Church appealed to one of their brethren to refrain from making whiskey, a product that not only accelerated moral decay but also robbed corn from "soldiers[']' wives and children [who] will need every bushel of grain which a bountiful God has given."[55]

During this period of heightened anxiety, the fervor that had compelled many of Rowan County's young men to enlist for Confederate service began to wane under the realization that the war was to be a protracted conflict and that soldiering, despite all the pomp that accompanied enlistment, was an arduous task filled more with deprivation than glory. By mid-February 1862 one local captain involved in raising a new company complained from Salisbury that "it is very difficult to get a man out for the war and active service."[56] Hampering the efforts of recruiters was the desire of the

53. *Carolina Watchman*, September 16, 1861. See also Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood*, 84-85.

54. Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 54; Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood*, 80. Similarly, former neighbors sought discharges for mechanics and artisans in North Carolina regiments because the specialized skills of those men were sorely needed to carry on everyday business back home. During late 1862 Confederate W. A. Will, a Rowan County blacksmith, and Henry H. Miller, a conscripted loom maker, were considered to be more valuable to the local economy than to General Lee's army. See the petition of Pelena C. Blackwill and others to Zebulon B. Vance, November 22, 1862, and Henry H. Miller to Vance, December 17, 1862, Governors Papers, Zebulon B. Vance, State Archives.

55. James Graham Ramsay, G. D. Parks, Jacob Krider, Benjamin Phifer, R. M. Rosebrough, Thomas A. Burke, and J. D. Johnston to John Lucky Sr., December 12, 1861, James Graham Ramsay Papers, Southern Historical Collection. Nearly three months earlier the *Carolina Watchman* had urged a similar dispensation in its discussion of conservation measures. *Carolina Watchman*, September 16, 1861.

56. William L. Saunders to mother, February 12, 1862, William Laurence Saunders Papers. By the end of 1861 Rowan County recruits who answered the first call for volunteers were beginning to find that the romance of the " 'tented fields' and &c suddenly vanish[ed]" under the hardships of military life and that the war was going to be a very long and costly affair. Veterans who had encouraged younger brothers and acquaintances to turn out during that fall's recruitment drive were now expressing reservations and going so far as to declare, "[I] hope that no more of you boys will have to exprence" the soldier's existence. John A. Ramsay to Cousin Julius, November 7, 1861, John Andrew Ramsay Papers, Southern Historical Collection;

"Determined to be one among the first to strike for the honor of his State," twenty-six-year-old attorney and journalist William Laurence Saunders rushed to join the Rowan Rifle Guard as it departed for Fort Johnston in late April 1861. By early 1862 local enthusiasm for volunteering had waned, leading Saunders, a recruiting officer for Company B, 46th Regiment, N.C. Troops, to complain that "it is very difficult to get a man out for the war and active service." Saunders's career after the war included serving as North Carolina's secretary of state (1879-1891) and editing the ten-volume *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (First Series). Photograph from the William Laurence Saunders Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

county's prospective enlistees to remain close to home, as evidenced by their enrollment in the local defense units being formed to guard the Confederate prison in Salisbury. Making these companies even more appealing was their promise of relaxed duty and a twelve-month service limit at a time when the Confederacy was demanding that recruits serve for either three years or the duration of the war.[57] Local service proved so

James Wilson Overcash to Joseph Overcash, November 22, 1861, and undated correspondence, [late 1861 or early 1862], Joseph Overcash Papers, Duke Special Collections.

57. During February of 1862 George C. Gibbs sought recruits for a battalion of infantry to guard the prison and held out the promise of twelve-month enlistments. After North Carolina accepted these companies as the nucleus of the Forty-second N.C. Troops, Gibbs was forced to amend his offer: the new recruits were to be enlisted "For the War," an ominous announcement that meant they would be "drilled daily" and would serve not at Salisbury but "in the Field." *Carolina Watchman*, February 3, 17, 1862.

attractive that, when their companies were incorporated into one of the five new regiments being raised by the state during the spring of 1862, twenty-three of the eighty-five Rowan County men among the prison guards refused to extend their enlistments beyond the required one-year term. The fact that the majority of these reluctant rebels were poor men whose households consisted primarily of their wives and young children—persons largely incapable of performing many of the chores needed to maintain their farms—may well have had some bearing upon their decision to remain in Salisbury, where they could guarantee the welfare of their families.[58] For example, William C. Brandon, a thirty-five-year-old prison guard whose family in 1862 included a fourteen-year-old daughter and an eleven-year-old son, joined the battalion led by the prison's commandant on February 1, 1862. Brandon's zeal for the military had cooled by the following May, when he refused to enlist in the regular Confederate service and remained at his post in Salisbury.[59]

By the spring of 1862 the unwillingness of men like William Brandon to endure the hardships of life in the field had increased to the point that the Confederacy was forced to implement a draft. Federal forces began to assert their strength at the time when the twelve-month enlistments of Southern troops were beginning to expire.[60] Responding to this crisis on April 16, 1862, the Confederate Congress passed "An Act to Further Provide for the Public Defense," which targeted men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five not already in service and those soldiers whose enlistments were about to expire. These men were now subject to compulsory service for the duration of the conflict.

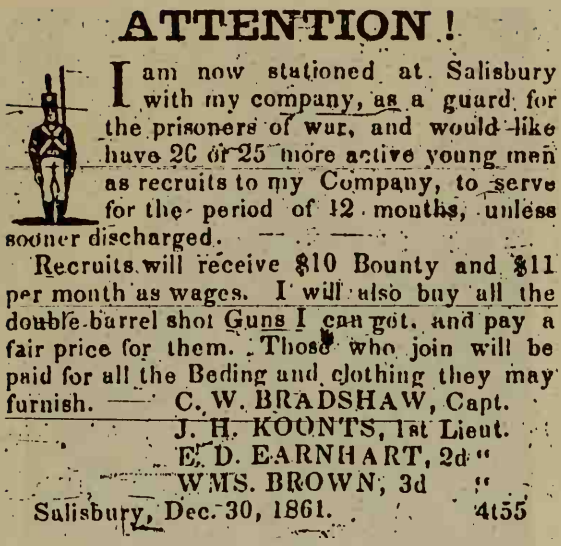
Even before this measure went into effect, speculation over the impact of a draft was rampant in Rowan County. In mid-March the *Carolina Watchman* raised the fear that conscripted individuals would lose certain liberties, which the previous year's recruits had enjoyed, including the right to elect their own officers.[61] No longer would men be

58. The Rowan contingent of George Gibbs's prison guards was culled from the rosters for Companies B and D of the Forty-second Regiment published by Manarin and Jordan. Of the eighty-five men in the battalion, thirty-two were located in the 1860 census. Seventy-two percent of these men were married and almost half headed families with pre-adolescent children. Attesting to their poverty, the average estate of the subjects in this sample was $2,315.44, considerably below the household average of the county. Indeed, of the married men in Gibbs's Rowan companies, seven came from households that failed to report any wealth in 1860. Fifteen of the twenty-three recusants who chose not to extend their enlistments beyond one year appeared among the households enumerated by the census taker. By 1862 half of these twelve-month men headed families. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 10:207-221, 228-240; Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County, Population Schedule.

59. Eighth Census, 1860: Rowan County, Population Schedule. Nine of Brandon's fellow dissenters also found it difficult to stay behind after the implementation of conscription. In July 1862 they joined Company A of the Fifty-seventh Regiment. Among them was the commander of the prison guard unit, William H. Howard, who also served as the company's captain until his resignation on August 1, 1862. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 10:208, 210, 216, 230, 235, 240; Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, 3:609-610.

60. Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1924), 6-7, 9-11.

61. *Carolina Watchman*, March 10, 1862. By the end of April, the *Watchman*'s editor, John J. Bruner, lashed out at the loss of liberty that conscription entailed. *Carolina Watchman*, April 28, 1862. The newspaper was not alone in its concern for the erosion of "our Republican government." According to Marc W. Kruman, North Carolinians were fearful that their treasured liberty would be lost as the Confederacy began to centralize power in its attempt to establish and maintain independence from the Union. Conscription's



ATTENTION!

I am now stationed at Salisbury with my company, as a guard for the prisoners of war, and would like have 20 or 25 more active young men as recruits to my Company, to serve for the period of 12 months, unless sooner discharged.

Recruits will receive $10 Bounty and $11 per month as wages. I will also buy all the double-barrel shot Guns I can get, and pay a fair price for them. Those who join will be paid for all the Beding and clothing they may furnish. — C. W. BRADSHAW, Capt.
J. H. KOONTS, 1st Lieut.
E. D. EARNHART, 2d "
WMS. BROWN, 3d "
Salisbury, Dec. 30, 1861. 4t55

Company A of Maj. George C. Gibbs's Prison Guard Battalion, raised in Davidson County in November 1861, was immediately assigned to the Confederate prison in Salisbury. Capt. Charles W. Bradshaw placed this advertisement in Salisbury's *Carolina Watchman* in an effort to recruit volunteers to supplement the battalion's complement. The advertisement offers recruits a twelve-month term of enlistment at a time when general enlistment in the Confederate army was for either three years or the duration of the war. A number of Rowan County men answered the advertisement; however, few of the men chose to extend their enlistments after the company was reorganized in April 1862. Advertisement, *Carolina Watchman*, December 30, 1861.

able to serve under leaders whose character was well known after many years of personal contact. Even worse was the prospect that recruits would be assigned to companies from distant areas that were filled with strangers—unknown men with unknown loyalties.[62] These fears drove many Rowan County men to seek exemptions based upon physical debilities, real or imagined. On March 14, 1862, one month prior to the passage of draft legislation, an observer recorded that a crowd of "more men limping, walking with sticks &c, than ever were known in these parts before" descended on Salisbury, creating an "amusing and at the same time disgusting" spectacle.[63]

Despite the shameful appearance made by these prospective conscripts, many Rowan County residents understood the reluctance of the new class of recruits. At the heart of this sympathy was the high value placed upon family and community. During the

legacy would be fear and dissent. Marc W. Kruman, "Dissent in the Confederacy: The North Carolina Experience," *Civil War History* 27 (December 1981): 293-313; Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry*, 125-166.

62. Serving among strangers was a greater concern for Rowan Confederates than the loss of their right to elect officers. The conscription law delegated the assignment of conscripts to the Confederate secretary of war, who was charged with using drafted men to complement companies already in service. See James M. Matthews, ed., *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the First Session of the First Congress; 1862* (Richmond: R. M. Smith, 1862), 31.

63. Adolphus W. Mangum to sister, March 11, 14, 1862, Mangum Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection. See also *Carolina Watchman*, March 17, 1862.

Rowan County inhabitants formed three infantry companies in the summer of 1862 in an effort to avoid conscription into organizations filled with strangers whose abilities and loyalties were unknown. Among these new units was Company K, 57th Regiment, N.C. Troops, which included thirty-one-year-old Sgt. G. Andrew Jackson Sechler (above) and twenty-seven-year-old Capt. Alfred Alexander Miller (facing page). Formerly officers in units of the county's militia, both men enlisted in Company K on July 7, 1862. After the war, Sechler served as the first mayor of China Grove (1889-1899). Photograph of image of Sergeant Sechler in the collection of Rev. James G. Stirewalt, used by permission.

summer of 1862 various defenders of those reluctant to enter the Confederate army reminded their detractors that "the conscripts compose a large portion of the honest, laboring class that were compelled to remain at home to secure bread for their families. Probably two-thirds work in their own crops, and if they had left earlier, starvation would have been more than threatening."[64]

Efforts by members of Rowan County's civilian population to profit from the shortages brought on by the Civil War—the practices of speculation, the conversion of foodstuffs into less necessary products, and the diversion of land formerly planted in edible crops to staple production—were more threatening to the families of soldiers

64. *Carolina Watchman*, July 7, September 1, 1862. Paul Escott has argued that the loss of farm labor resulted in widespread food shortages for North Carolinians during the Civil War and exacerbated the declining economic position of the state's impoverished families. The resulting blow to the yeomanry's self-sufficiency eroded the class's psychological well-being and fueled the dissent that racked North Carolina after 1863. Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 53-58.

A Lutheran Sunday school teacher who "devotedly . . . conducted a prayer meeting while in camp," Capt. Alfred Alexander Miller was killed at the Battle of Fredericksburg in early December 1862. Photograph of Captain Miller in the collection of J. A. Locke Miller Jr., used by permission.

than starvation. By mid-October 1862 the county's conscripts in the Fifty-seventh Regiment North Carolina Troops were in a turmoil over the strained conditions that faced their families. Paid eleven dollars a month, these men had hoped to use their wages to help their families attain "the essentials of life."[65] Unfortunately for the soldiers

65. *Carolina Watchman*, October 13, 1862. See also O. Goddin to Zebulon Vance, February 27, 1863, quoted in W. Buck Yearns and John Gilchrist Barrett, *North Carolina Civil War Documentary* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 97-99; Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood*, 80. How many Rowan County men were attracted to the Confederate army by the hope of monthly pay cannot be determined, but the promise of a regular income and enlistment bonuses was a prominent part of recruitment advertisements. Calls, such as John A. Ramsay's, for skilled artisans who would earn extra pay based upon their prewar trades, undoubtedly attracted men from depressed areas like Gold Hill who had long been accustomed to working for steady wages. See the advertisements from W. C. Lord (June 24, 1861) and John A. Ramsay (September 5, 1861), both in the *Carolina Watchman*. See also a similar call by James A. Craige in the *Salisbury Semi-Weekly Banner*, October 4, 1861. The use of such enticements to draw men, especially those of the lower economic classes, into the ranks was not a new occurrence. See Edward C. Papenfuse and Gregory A. Stiverson, "General Smallwood's Recruits: The Peacetime Career of the Revolutionary War Private," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 30 (January 1973): 124-126, 131. The work of W. J. Rorabaugh, which focuses upon Northern recruits from Concord, Massachusetts, seconds the conclusions reached by Papenfuse and Stiverson. Among Concord's Federal troops the lack of property

and their families, the Confederacy was not always able to meet its financial obligations. Rowan County neighbors, many of whom were suffering under similar circumstances, were in no position to assist each other.

Although the county had established a fund in May of 1861 to aid those households affected by members being in the army, this assistance proved to be inadequate under the stresses of the following year. Subsidies of only three and four dollars fell far short of the fifty dollars that a barrel of flour cost by the end of 1862.[66] More damaging to Rowan County residents' morale than either the continually spiraling inflation that raised the cost of provisions to an unattainable height or the even higher prices imposed by the speculators was the willingness of the local citizenry to place profit over Christian charity. Indeed, those persons most able to contribute toward relieving the suffering of their less fortunate neighbors proved to be especially selfish. In October 1862 a local conscript related for the readers of the *Carolina Watchman* the predicament of one soldier's wife. Barefoot and lacking money with which to purchase firewood, the unfortunate woman found that townspeople were unwilling to give her kindling at no charge. Listening to her "children often cry from cold and hunger," the poor woman could only "mingle her tears with those of the little ones and pray for a brighter to-morrow." To remedy this pathetic situation, the unidentified soldier proposed the unthinkable: "I shall leave the army and go to you, even at the risk of life itself." Commenting on this story the paper queried,

> And who can blame the spirit of such a soldier. It matters not how much devotion may be expressed for Country, or how much interested a man may be in the welfare of the army, nature demands that his first and chief interest shall be for his family, and it is impossible to be insensible to their claims, and if he found them suffering, would he be wrong in throwing down his gun and going to their relief?[67]

By the end of 1862 Rowan conscripts were adopting this strategy with increasing frequency. Like those who had sat out the war's first two waves of recruitment, these men were married and older than the average recruit for 1862. Deserters from Confederate service proved to be relatively poor, an indication of how widespread was the perception that the Civil War had become a rich man's war and a poor man's fight by the end of its second year.[68] Few of North Carolina's deserters belonged to the artisanal

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and blighted economic ambitions propelled many men into service. Rorabaugh, "Who Fought for the North in the Civil War? Concord, Massachusetts, Enlistments," *Journal of American History* 73 (December 1986): 695-701.

66. Special Assistance to Families of Soldiers, 1861-1865, Rowan County Military Records, State Archives; *Carolina Watchman*, May 16, 1861, March 23, 1863. Those receiving assistance during 1861 were truly needy, usually possessing no land and little property worthy of enumeration. In most instances these households had been stripped of their male laborers, leaving the responsibility for family-caring in the hands of widows, young wives, or elderly fathers.

67. *Carolina Watchman*, October 13, 1862.

68. By examining the rosters published by Manarin and Jordan and John W. Moore and the 1860 census's Population Schedule for Rowan County, a sample of eighteen of Rowan County's forty-two deserters was created. At the time of their defection, fifteen of these men were married, many with young children at home. Indicative of their poverty, Rowan County deserters possessed an average estate of $2,693.53. Averaging 32.6 years of age, they were slightly older than those studied by Richard Reid in his analysis of North Carolina's deserters. He found that men aged twenty-six to thirty years old with families were the most likely candidates for absenting themselves. Reid's conclusion that desertion was tied to low economic standing made worse by wartime hardships and familial responsibilities agrees with the pattern evident

and professional classes; more than half came from households devoted to farming.[69] Although the reasons for their defection cannot be determined with certainty, these soldiers were undoubtedly influenced by their own inability or that of local society to relieve the distress experienced by their families.

The timing of their desertions, their agricultural background, and the burdens of the farm chores that fell to their households during their absence make this theory appealing. It acquires added weight when one considers the relatively bloodless records of the regiments to which deserters belonged. Only 30 percent of Rowan County's soldiers who absented themselves from military service prior to the beginning of 1863 had seen combat, an indication that war weariness or cowardice had little to do with their decision to bolt.[70] Interestingly, these men did not desert at a time of flagging morale: more than one-third of desertions in 1862 took place during a string of Confederate victories between June and August. Quite significant is the increase of desertions during September and October, periods of peak agricultural activity when the current corn crop would have been harvested and land broken for the following year's wheat. Just as their flight coincided with flurries of increased farming activity, the return of deserters to the army came at a time when their labors would have been in less demand at home. Mount Vernon's Ira Newman, for example, chose to desert during June 1862 when the local wheat harvest began and rejoined his company in mid-February 1863, well after the end of the fall harvest and winter butchering.[71] From his return to the front until his death the following June, Newman apparently was a model soldier. Given the concern for the welfare of their families and the labor shortage imposed by their absence, it is quite likely that deserters such as Ira Newman arrived at

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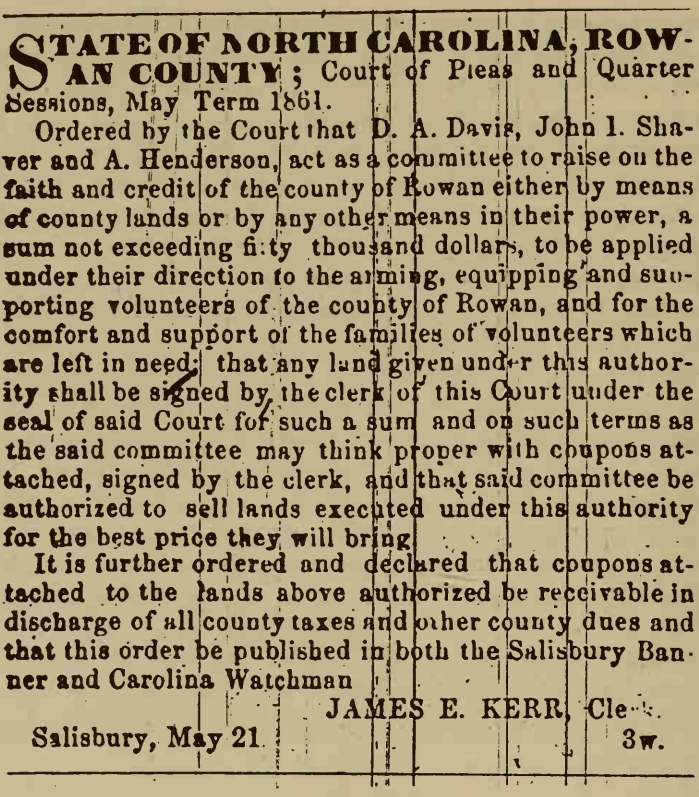
among Rowan County runaways. Reid, "A Test Case of the 'Crying Evil': Desertion among North Carolina Troops during the Civil War," *North Carolina Historical Review* 57 (summer 1981): 247-248, 253. See also Richard Bardolph, "Inconstant Rebels: Desertion of North Carolina Troops in the Civil War," *North Carolina Historical Review* 41 (spring 1964): 173, 178, 181. As early as February 1861, concerns had arisen in the Yadkin and Catawba River valleys that any conflict between the Confederate States and the Union would quickly become a poor man's fight while the wealthy secessionists remained "at home, many of them in some grog shop . . . utter[ing] 'brave words' at a safe distance." *Carolina Watchman*, February 26, 1861.

69. Reid, "Test Case," 247.

70. Of the forty-two Rowan Confederates who had deserted or otherwise absented themselves without permission prior to January 1, 1863, only 30.9 percent belonged to regiments that had been in combat. Two of these men left the army in the wake of injuries or sickness, which implies that their "desertion" may be linked to the healing process rather than disillusionment. During Robert E. Lee's 1862 invasion of Maryland, an additional two men had been captured and paroled and may have considered themselves discharged from service as a result of the experience. Of the remaining nine, the desertion of four men can be linked to battles: during the fighting at Fredericksburg in mid-December 1862, Company F of the Seventh N.C. Troops lost two men to desertion, and Thomas J. Atkinson and John Clotfelter of the Oakland Guards (Company D, Thirty-fourth Regiment) ran away during the Antietam campaign. It should be noted that, prior to their decamping, these men had stood the test of battle well. Three of the men belonged to households where the loss of their labor would have been crucial, which suggests that their unauthorized leaves were related more to the situation of their families than to cowardice. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 4:466, 470, 9:286-287, 289, 11:149, 12:56-58, 60, 62-63. Richard Reid has questioned the popular image of the deserter as coward; and, based upon the length of time spent in service by the fugitives, he rejects the idea that the fear of facing the enemy explains their actions. Reid, "Test Case," 246. See also Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood*, 82.

71. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 11:155. On the timing of agricultural tasks, see also Bailey, *Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 26-29.



STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, ROWAN COUNTY; Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, May Term 1861.

Ordered by the Court that D. A. Davis, John 1. Shaver and A. Henderson, act as a committee to raise on the faith and credit of the county of Rowan either by means of county lands or by any other means in their power, a sum not exceeding fifty thousand dollars, to be applied under their direction to the arming, equipping and supporting volunteers of the county of Rowan, and for the comfort and support of the families of volunteers which are left in need; that any land given under this authority shall be signed by the clerk of this Court under the seal of said Court for such a sum and on such terms as the said committee may think proper with coupons attached, signed by the clerk, and that said committee be authorized to sell lands executed under this authority for the best price they will bring.

It is further ordered and declared that coupons attached to the lands above authorized be receivable in discharge of all county taxes and other county dues and that this order be published in both the Salisbury Banner and Carolina Watchman.

JAMES E. KERR, Clerk.

Salisbury, May 21. 3w.

In May 1861 Rowan County's court of pleas and quarter sessions authorized the raising of a fund for "the arming, equipping and supporting volunteers of the county . . . and for the comfort and support of the families of volunteers which are left in need." Although a considerable sum was raised for the fund, applications for relief exceeded the fund's resources. In late 1862, when a barrel of flour cost fifty dollars and the average soldier was irregularly paid his monthly wage of eleven dollars, claimants to the relief fund received annual awards of only three or four dollars. Advertisement, *Salisbury Banner*, May 21, 1861.

the same conclusion as had the conscript in the Fifty-seventh North Carolina. In their minds, a soldier was fully justified in throwing down his gun and going to the relief of his loved ones back in Rowan County.

The war that initially had united Rowan County in the collective effort to preserve the cohesiveness of the community eventually created a manpower drain that weakened the ties among the inhabitants. Conscription and other demands by the Confederate government divided the county's citizens as a depleted population shouldered an increasing burden on both the battlefield and the home front.

The tear in the local social fabric was particularly evident on March 18, 1863, when a band of between forty and fifty women gathered in the streets of Salisbury. Armed with axes and hatchets and angered by the exorbitant prices imposed by speculators, they moved purposefully from one store building to the next, demanding that the town's merchants sell them flour at a reduced rate. When their pleas went unanswered, they

hacked away at storeroom doors and carried off what they could. These women were driven by more than high prices—they were hungry. One observer noted that

> there are many families in this town and vicinity who have not tasted meat for weeks, and some times, months together. Of course they have had no butter, molasses, or sugar. Many of them have no gardens and consequently no vegetables of their own raising; and the scarcity and high prices of potatoes, peas, beans, &c, render it extremely difficult, if at all possible, for them to obtain these articles.[72]

These female marauders were the wives of Rowan's Confederates, the very men the county expected to defend local society. That same society had failed to care for or meet the needs of these women, many of whom had applied for aid but received none while others "applied for and obtained money who were not in need."[73] Although this situation was to be condemned, a greater crime had occurred in the eyes of Salisbury's *Carolina Watchman*: "The destruction of confidence between man and man and the conception of dark suspicions and restless jealousies" arising from the indifference of local society and inherent in the mob action were more deplorable than the shameful hoarding of the county's rich, a situation that ate at the fabric of the community.[74]

The class tensions evident in the Salisbury bread "riot" and in the previous fall's warning by the frustrated conscript continued to grow and feed discontent.[75] By 1864 this disaffection would lead a small number of county residents to join the Heroes of America, a pro-peace organization active in North Carolina's Piedmont that aided deserters, draft resisters, and escaped Union prisoners. In 1863 two years remained before the Civil War would end and the South would lie broken and suffering; but, in Rowan County, as order unraveled on March 18, that day had already come.

Mr. McKaughan is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. *He wishes to thank the following individuals for their critical reading of earlier drafts of this article: Dr. William L. Barney and Dr. Donald G. Mathews, both of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Dr. David L. Smiley, professor emeritus, Wake Forest University.*

72. *Carolina Watchman*, March 23, 1863. The *Watchman*'s claim that many of Rowan County's poor lacked meat is substantiated by the soldiers' wives involved in the "riot." They wrote to Governor Vance that they "work day after day without a meat to strengthen us for our Labors and often times we are without bre[a]d." Soldiers' Wives to Zebulon B. Vance, March 21, 1863, Governors Papers, Vance, State Archives. The author would like to thank Joe A. Mobley, editor of *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance*, for bringing this letter to his attention.

73. *Carolina Watchman*, March 23, 1863.

74. *Carolina Watchman*, March 23, 1863.

75. Referring to themselves as "poor women," the "rioters" noted that their husbands had left not only to protect their own humble homes, "but the homes & [property] of the rich man." Soldiers' Wives to Zebulon B. Vance, March 21, 1863, Governors Papers, Vance, State Archives. On class tensions in North Carolina created by the war, see Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 39, 43-44, 55.

African Americans and the War against Spain

PIERO GLEIJESES

Following the sinking of the *Maine* on February 15, 1898, war fever gripped the United States. For white Americans it was a time of great excitement, a patriotic upsurge while the country recovered from the harsh depression of the mid-1890s. For black Americans the prospect of war against Spain offered hope in a time of despair. Their willingness to sacrifice for their country might lessen white racism and help reverse the deterioration of their situation in the South.

To look at the reaction of black Americans to the war is to look at the ever recurring question of how oppressed people deal with their oppression, torn as they are between the desire to lash out and the need to court the goodwill of their tormentors. At no moment in addressing the issues raised by the Spanish-American War did black Americans lose sight of what was, for them, the overriding question of how the war would affect their situation at home. Should they push themselves forward, offering their services to their white rulers, or should they hold back in proud and dignified protest? In the *Colored American*, a popular African American newspaper in Washington, D.C., one writer asked, "While the air is filled with war clouds and sanguinary talk . . . the colored man is in a quandary. Why should he desire to take up arms against any foreign government, when the United States, his adopted country, offers him such little protection?"[1]

The most important documentary evidence of African American views of the political events in the 1890s is found in the more than one hundred and fifty black newspapers that were then published in the United States. Most of the papers supported the Republican Party, "the defender of a free ballot."[2] Although the Republicans may have been a weak and unreliable champion for black Americans after the Civil War, the Democrats were spearheading the onslaught against black rights in the South during the post-Reconstruction period.

1. *Colored American* (Washington, D.C.), March 12, 1898.

2. *Washington Bee* (Washington, D.C.), January 8, 1898. There are no exact figures on the number of African American newspapers in the 1890s. For a discussion of the black press at the time, see Emma Lou Thornbrough, "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914," *Business History Review* 50 (winter 1966): 467-490; L. M. Hershaw, "The Negro Press in America," *Charities and the Commons* 15 (October 1905): 66-68; Frederick G. Detweiler, *The Negro Press in the United States* (1922; College Park, Md.: McGrath Publishing Co., 1968), 12-77; Roland E. Wolseley, *The Black Press, U.S.A.*, 2d ed. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990), 38-74.

Thanks largely to the excellent work of historian Willard Gatewood, the general reaction of these newspapers to the issues raised by the war—whether the United States should enter, whether blacks could enlist and fight in integrated units, whether the United States should annex the Philippines—is known.[3] It is nevertheless useful to go beyond the broad outline to get a closer look, a more intimate picture, of the way the African American press grappled on a day-to-day basis with these questions. To this end, a representative sample of eight African American newspapers has been examined from 1898 through 1899—the *Colored American* (Washington, D.C.), the *Washington Bee* (Washington, D.C.), the *Broad Ax* (Salt Lake City), the *Gazette* (Cleveland), the *Richmond Planet*, the *Parsons Weekly Blade* (Parsons, Kans.), the *Freeman* (Indianapolis), and the *State Ledger* (Topeka). All of these were Republican papers except the *Broad Ax*, which was Democratic.

The *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee* were the most eloquent, and their views are representative of the opinions of the other papers. Of the two, the *Colored American* was the better written.[4] The *Washington Bee* was more racy, witty, and entertaining. An in-depth, week-by-week analysis of these two black papers of Washington, D.C., home of one of the largest concentrations of African Americans in the country, reveals the agonizing twists and turns along the road to accommodation and demonstrates the pathos of the choice oppressed blacks had to make between dignity and pragmatism. The survey also reveals the artificiality of the distinction between foreign policy and domestic policy. For the editors of the *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee*, the struggle to find a principled and politically astute response to the wars in Cuba and the Philippines was indistinguishable from their struggle to deal with the tightening vice of oppression at home. Thus the debate in 1898 was as much about encroaching disfranchisement at home and the escalating terror of lynching as it was about the war.

There are poignant moments in the history of dependent peoples, when the terms of their oppression have not yet been—or are no longer—fixed, when there is movement, be it forward or backward. Black Americans had been sliding backwards since the heady days of Reconstruction. Violence, fraud, and restrictive electoral laws were used by the Democrats to reduce and control the black vote in the South. "There are minor elections in which it is not thought needful to interfere," a British essayist observed in 1891. "But, speaking generally, the fact is too well known to need either proof or illustration that . . . the colored people are not suffered to use the rights which the amendments to the constitution were intended to secure."[5] By the time those words appeared, the South was already embarking on what one southern editor described as

3. See especially Willard B. Gatewood Jr., *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898-1903* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975) and *"Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers 1898-1902* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1987). See also, George P. Marks, ed., *The Black Press Views American Imperialism, 1898-1900* (New York: Arno Press, 1971).

4. The *Broad Ax* (Salt Lake City), arguably the most important African American Democratic newspaper, paid the *Colored American* a handsome compliment: "the *Colored American* has the best editorial staff of any of our race papers and it and its writers would be all right if they were not such intense republicans." *Broad Ax*, May 7, 1898.

5. James Bryce, "Thoughts on the Negro Problem," *North American Review* 153 (December 1891): 646.

"a new method of dealing with that White Man's Burden which she has borne for more than thirty years—a method that, in spite of appearances of injustice, promises . . . more generous treatment of the negro."[6] The South would no longer seek to curtail and control the black vote, but to eliminate it altogether. In 1890 the Mississippi constitution established literacy requirements that were intended only for blacks, and South Carolina followed suit with similar amendments in its constitution of 1895.[7]

Although segregation had existed during Reconstruction and had intensified in the following years, the 1890s witnessed a sustained effort to codify segregation in every aspect of life. One southern state after the other passed laws against vagrancy and contract evasion, while new forms of bound labor—the convict lease system, the chain gangs, peonage—flourished.

Lynching, an old American tradition that had long flourished on the frontier, gained new importance in the South. According to historian Edward L. Ayers, "The visibility and ferocity of lynching seemed to assume new proportions in the 1880s and 1890s."[8] One British observer wrote that "In many instances deliberate arrangements for the 'execution' are made, special trains bring throngs of male and female visitors, and the event forms an interesting public holiday."[9] Lynchings were also educational events as "young black men learned early in their lives that they could at any time be grabbed by a white mob—whether for murder, looking at a white woman the wrong way, or merely being 'smart'—and dragged into the woods or a public street to be tortured, burned, mutilated."[10] The complicity and approval of southern whites were matched by the indifference of northern whites and the federal government. "It was a revealing reflection on the times that so few congressmen showed any concerns about the lynchings," notes one scholar.[11] Americans "are a nation of lynchers," distinguished African American journalist Ida B. Wells cried out to a British audience in 1898.[12]

As war with Spain beckoned neither disfranchisement nor segregation was yet complete, and conditions for southern blacks had not reached their lowest point. The emergence of the Populist Party in the early 1890s had given hope to African Americans, and for a brief time their condition did improve. Nowhere was this improvement more

6. Clarence H. Poe, "Suffrage Restrictions in the South: Its Causes and Consequences," *North American Review* 175 (October 1902): 543.

7. The device was so successful that it reduced African American participation from about 30 percent in the 1888 presidential race to virtually nil in 1892. Bess Beatty, *A Revolution Gone Backward: The Black Response to National Politics, 1876-1896* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 139; J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 144.

8. Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 156. Although usually associated with hanging, lynchings include any action in which a mob administers justice outside of the established court system.

9. John A. Hobson, "The Negro Problem in the United States," *The Nineteenth Century and After* 54 (October 1903): 587-588.

10. Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 158.

11. Richard B. Sherman, *The Republican Party and Black America from McKinley to Hoover, 1896-1933* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 14.

12. Quoted in *Washington Bee*, October 15, 1898.

evident than in North Carolina, where the black vote proved decisive in the 1896 election of Republican governor Daniel L. Russell.

On November 3, 1896, William McKinley was elected president of the United States with the massive support of those blacks who were still free to vote.[13] Mindful of African American assistance in his election, McKinley condemned lynching in his inaugural address. He also appointed a number of blacks to minor positions in the federal government, including a few in the South (mainly as postmasters). The major objective of McKinley's Republican administration was to reconcile the North and the South: "It will be my constant aim to do nothing, and permit nothing to be done, that will arrest or disturb this growing sentiment of unity and cooperation, this revival of esteem and affiliation . . . but I shall cheerfully do everything possible to promote and increase it."[14] The president's goal of reconciliation augured poorly for African Americans. Within a year of McKinley's inauguration two events sent shock waves through the black community.

The first was the brutal murder of Fraser Baker, a black schoolteacher in Lake City, South Carolina. "Men are dying every day," noted the *Freeman*, "but they are not dying for such reasons as Baker of Lake City died. His death is as momentous as the death of the ill-fated seamen of the Maine."[15] Lake City's white citizens and the state legislature had howled in outrage at Baker's appointment as postmaster in late 1897. Although a mob burned the post office, Baker refused to resign, "assured that he was standing for the rights of his race." On the night of February 22, 1898, another mob set fire to the shanty that was Baker's home and temporary post office. "When the negro, followed by his wife and children, opened the door, a volley of bullets greeted him." Seriously wounded, his wife and three children were saved from the flames by other blacks living nearby. "The father and the youngest child were burnt to a crisp, and some parts of their bodies were found among the charred remains of the cabin."[16] From the comparative safety of Salt Lake City, an African American newspaper thundered, "if the negroes of South Carolina do not avenge the death of Baker and his children then they are unworthy of the name of freemen."[17] On the other hand, the white press in South Carolina, denouncing those "disreputable political prostitutes" who foisted black officials on southern communities, sent a clear message that "the placing of a negro in an official position over white men of the South is a criminal outrage of the most flagrant type. . . . It is an insult vicious and brutal."[18]

One month later, on March 24, 1898, a constitutional convention in Louisiana approved the "grandfather clause," which exempted male citizens who had been entitled to vote on or prior to January 1, 1867, their sons, grandsons, and all people of foreign birth who had been naturalized prior to January 1, 1898, from educational and

13. Beatty, *A Revolution Gone Backward*, 161, 171.

14. Quoted in Sherman, *Republican Party and Black America*, 7.

15. *Freeman* (Indianapolis), March 5, 1898.

16. *Outlook* (New York), March 5, 1898, 557-558.

17. *Broad Ax*, February 26, 1898.

18. *Literary Digest*, March 5, 1898, 273-274, quoting from the *Register* (Columbia, S.C.) and the *Post* (Charleston, S.C.).

property qualifications on suffrage. "Now it is known," the *Freeman* explained, "that the Negro was not a legal voter until 1870, when the famous Fifteenth Amendment was made a part of the country's constitution." Thus all but a small number of African Americans were disfranchised. "While a great wave of sympathy is sweeping across the entire geographic confines of the Republic for 'Cuba Libre,' " lamented the *Washington Bee*, "political chains are being forged [in Louisiana] for the black man, the like of which have caused even South Carolina and Mississippi to blush with envy."[19]

Concerned about the worsening conditions of southern blacks, Representative George Henry White of North Carolina, a Republican and the lone African American member of the U.S. Congress, had addressed the House of Representatives on March 7, 1898. He expressed the grievances of his people and pledged their loyalty:

> The nation has not at all times given us that protection to which our loyalty has entitled us. This is painfully evidenced by the almost daily outrages chronicled, showing lynchings, murders, assassinations, and even cremations of our people all over the Southland. . . . But, regardless of the faults of this grand old Union of ours, we love her still, and if the nation should find it necessary to resort to arms and our present strained relations with Spain should develop into a war, I pledge you that the black phalanx is ready to be mustered in, one-half million strong.[20]

The *Colored American* supported Congressman White's position and did not argue whether the nation should or should not go to war. It left this decision "to the wisdom and patriotism of our representatives at the White House and Capitol."[21] What the *Colored American* desperately sought was to impress on the dominant race how eager the black man was to do his duty, to be "foremost among those who contended for the preservation of the nation's dignity and honor at any cost." In this way African Americans would benefit, whether in peace or war. "If no necessity for war arises, the colored man is a better American by reason of this test of his loyalty. If war should come, he will be the more strongly entwined in the warp and woof of the nation by reason of sacrifice and danger willingly endured."[22] When war finally beckoned in early April, the *Colored American* warmly endorsed it: "we fight as brethren of one blood, and under one flag. We are all American citizens, bound inseparably by a common cause."[23]

The *Washington Bee* reached the same conclusion but by a more tortuous path that reveals an understandable resistance to show allegiance to a flag that symbolized the oppression of the black race. In March, as the *Colored American* proclaimed its loyalty, the *Washington Bee* held its peace, declaring that "while we may be loyal and patriotic . . . severe silence becomes us. When we shall have been treated as men and accorded the rights for which we voted and fought . . . then we can make haste to prove that we possess our full share of patriotism. . . . Wisdom dictates silence in this case."[24] Less than two weeks later, the *Washington Bee* reversed its position and simply stated

19. *Freeman*, April 9, 1898; *Washington Bee*, April 16, 1898.
20. *Congressional Record*, 55th Cong., 2d sess., 1898, 31, pt. 3:2556.
21. *Colored American*, March 26, 1898.
22. *Colored American*, March 19, 1898.
23. *Colored American*, April 9, 1898.
24. *Washington Bee*, March 19, 1898.

The only African American member of the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses (1897-1901), Representative George Henry White (R., N.C.) attempted to assure his fellow congressmen that if war against Spain became a reality, "the black phalanx is ready to be mustered in, one-half million strong." After White's retirement in 1901, more than sixty years passed before a southern state elected an African American to Congress. Photograph (facing p. 314) from *Editor in Politics*, by Josephus Daniels. Copyright © 1941 by the University of North Carolina Press.

that "the crime of the Maine must be avenged."[25] The *Washington Bee* might have preferred silence instead of proclaiming that "thousands of valiant colored men are only waiting for Uncle Sam to say 'come on boys,' and a howling response will be forthcoming."[26] Reason, however, pointed to the direction already taken by the *Colored American*.

War with Spain meant that Congress would have to enlarge the regular army and the president would have to call on the states to supply tens of thousands of volunteers. On the eve of the Spanish-American War, the U.S. Army had 26,040 enlisted men. Of these, some two thousand were African Americans, and they were restricted to serving in four segregated regiments stationed on the western frontier.[27] The impending war

25. *Washington Bee*, April 2, 1898.

26. *Washington Bee*, April 23, 1898.

27. See the Report of Adjutant General H. C. Corbin, *New York Times*, November 12, 1898. For discussions of African American participation in the United States military during this period, see Marvin Fletcher, *The Black Soldier and Officer in the United States Army, 1891-1917* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1974), 61-118; John M. Carroll, ed., *The Black Military Experience in the American West* (New York: Liveright, 1971); Arlen L. Fowler, *The Black Infantry in the West, 1869-1891* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1971); William H. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West* (Norman:

would bring African American men the opportunity to serve their country—or so they hoped.

The career of Lt. Charles Young demonstrates the difficulties that blacks confronted in the military. In the spring of 1898, Lieutenant Young was the only African American among the U.S. Army's 2,143 officers. After graduating from West Point in 1889, where he had been a social outcast, Young served briefly as a 2d lieutenant in the Tenth Cavalry and later, at the same rank, in the Twenty-fifth Infantry. He was then assigned as a 2d lieutenant to the Ninth Cavalry, a black regiment. The officers of that regiment objected to the appointment; and Young, although retaining his rank and assignment in the Ninth, was transferred to Wilberforce University, a small black college in Ohio. At Wilberforce he served as professor of military science and tactics. "As long as he was stationed there, quietude prevailed among the white officers of the army, but one clear and sunny day [October 1, 1896]," the *Colored American* explained, he was assigned as a 1st lieutenant to the Seventh Cavalry. "A storm arose. What! the great Seventh, with its fighting record, the Seventh led by Custer at Little Big Horn, to be led by a Negro! The idea made the blood of every cavalryman freeze in his veins. It was awful to contemplate, and the regiment was actually threatened with desertions." Young was quickly transferred back to the Ninth, and he remained at Wilberforce.[28]

Although a number of blacks hoped that the new army would be integrated,[29] most were resigned to the fact that the white resistance encountered by Charles Young awaited any African American who sought to serve in the U.S. military. "There is an unmistakable aversion to close contact with the colored comrade," the *Colored American* declared.[30] If integration was out of question, then at least black Americans should receive the same opportunities as whites in segregated regiments. An editorial of the *Colored American* stated this demand with dignity and eloquence:

> We want for ourselves every right and privilege accorded to any other American citizen, and will be satisfied with nothing short of it. We are not more anxious to be shot at or killed than any other class, but the principle of military and civilian recognition is at stake, and we wish to be called on equality with our fellow-countrymen to bear the nation's burdens as well as to share her joys. . . . We want colored troops with colored officers. . . . We have the brains, the courage, and the strength. Give us the opportunity. . . . All we desire and all we can expect is an equal chance and fair play.[31]

However, the white press had a different definition of fair play. The *Washington Post* commented that a "policy which puts arms in the hands of the negroes . . . results in the artificial exaltation of an inferior race," and the *Times* (New Orleans) told blacks

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University of Oklahoma Press, 1967); Monroe Lee Billington, *New Mexico's Buffalo Soldiers, 1866-1900* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1991).

28. *Colored American*, May 28, 1898. See also the *Gazette* (Cleveland), May 7, 1898; Abraham Chew, *A Biography of Colonel Charles Young* (Washington, D.C.: R. L. Pendelton, 1923), 13; Robert Ewell Greene, *Colonel Charles Young: Soldier and Diplomat* (Washington, D.C.: R. E. Greene, 1985), 22-42; William H. Powell, *List of Officers of the Army of the United States from 1779 to 1900* (New York: L. R. Hamersly and Company, 1900), 693.

29. *Parsons Weekly Blade* (Parsons, Kans.), April 23, 1898.

30. *Colored American*, May 14, 1898.

31. *Colored American*, May 28, 1898.

Col. Charles Young was the third African American to graduate from West Point and the only black member of the regular U.S. Army officer corps during the late 1890s. A professor of military science and tactics at Wilberforce College (1894-1898), Young commanded the Ninth Regular (Colored) Ohio Volunteers during the Spanish-American War. Photograph (facing p. 170) from *Negro Builders and Heroes*, by Benjamin Brawley. Copyright © 1937 by the University of North Carolina Press.

not to enlist "for their own sake."[32] The black press took note of this "mad determination" to prevent the enlistment of black volunteers.[33] "The Memphis *Commercial Appeal*," observed the *Colored American*, "is giving its dear little heart no end of uneasiness about what the Negro soldier will do 'when this cruel war is over.' " The *Commercial Appeal* claimed that "the colored soldier . . . has grown tyrannical in his dealings with white men. . . . [I]f any great number of Negroes are put into the army as soldiers it will have a demoralizing effect on them when they return. No doubt when they come back from fighting the battles of the country they will . . . be more or less disposed to arrogance."[34]

Some white Americans were less intransigent; and, as a matter of principle, they argued that blacks should be granted the privilege of fighting for the United States—in limited numbers. Others agreed for more practical reasons. "The African," explained

32. *Washington Post*, November 28, 1898. The quotation from the *Times* (New Orleans) appears in the *Richmond Planet* (Richmond, Va.), July 16, 1898.

33. *Gazette*, March 25, 1899.

34. *Colored American*, May 7, 1898.

the *St. Louis Globe*, "is immune from yellow fever."[35] Young blacks, the *Picayune* (New Orleans) warned, should not be allowed to stay at home while the South was stripped of its young white men.[36] In some states—particularly North Carolina, Illinois, and Kansas—concern for black votes was an important motivation. In other states—Alabama and especially Virginia—equally important was the sluggishness of white volunteers in filling the states' volunteer quotas. "The whites," the *Broad Ax* emphasized, "were not breaking their necks in falling over each other to enlist. It was then decided to permit the Negro to do so."[37]

Eight states accepted black volunteers, but these men were forced to serve in segregated units. Some ten thousand African Americans eventually entered the volunteer army. While some white volunteer regiments took part in the Cuban campaign, black volunteers left for the island only after the armistice had been signed on August 12, 1898.[38] Black volunteer units were allowed a full roster of black officers in only a few states, the most notable of which was North Carolina, the only southern state where the African American vote was still a significant force in politics. Some states permitted blacks to serve only as junior officers, while others allowed no black officers. The regular army maintained its standards—there would be no black officers in command of regular troops. Lt. Charles Young was raised to the rank of major and assigned to lead the Ninth Ohio (Colored) Volunteer Regiment. The four regiments of black regulars were sent to Cuba with the invading force—in segregated accommodations and with a full roster of white officers. They fought well, as even the white press acknowledged.[39] Six noncommissioned black officers were promoted to 2d lieutenant for gallantry in battle but were immediately transferred to volunteer regiments. Their new epaulets would last only as long as their new units did, and at war's end the men would have to either return to the regular army at their former rank or retire. "If there ever was a mockery on valor and patriotism it was in the promotion of these black heroes," observed the *Washington Bee*.[40]

The insult of white officers leading black regiments was felt keenly by the black press. And it was made more bitter still by the fact that many of the new white officers were

35. Quoted in the *Parsons Weekly Blade*, April 16, 1898.

36. The quotation from the *Picayune* appears in *Literary Digest*, August 27, 1898, 248.

37. *Broad Ax*, July 22, 1899.

38. See Gatewood, *Black Americans*, 64-101. Graham A. Cosmas, *An Army for Empire: The United States Army in the Spanish-American War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), 131-137, estimates that by August 1898 the total strength of the U.S. Army was 275,000 men. This number includes more than 200,000 volunteers, of which between eight and ten thousand were African American.

39. On the performance of the Negro troops in the Cuban campaign, see Theophilus Gould Steward, *The Colored Regulars in the United States Army* (1904; New York: Arno Press, 1969), 102-106, 116-281; John H. Nankivell, *History of the Twenty-fifth Regiment United States Infantry 1869-1926* (1927; New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 65-86, 195-198; William G. Muller, *The Twenty Fourth Infantry: Past and Present* (1923; Ft. Collins, Co.: Old Army Press, 1972), [unpaginated]; Hiram H. Thweatt, *What the Newspapers Say of the Negro Soldier in the Spanish-American War* (Thomasville, Ga.: n.p., n.d.); Francis Lewis, "Negro Army Regulars in the Spanish-American War: Smoked Yankees at Santiago de Cuba" (master's thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1969), 16-65; Fletcher, *Black Soldier and Officer*, 35-47; David F. Trask, *The War with Spain in 1898* (New York: MacMillan, 1981), 221, 237, 247-248, 326.

40. *Washington Bee*, August 13, 1898. Only the *State Ledger* (Topeka), July 16, 1898, reported the promotions without any bitterness.

former Confederates, or children of rebels. "Who are the white men that are being commissioned as officers to lead our troops to this war?" asked the *Colored American*. "Major General M. C. Butler of South Carolina . . . Major General Joe Wheeler of Alabama, Major General Fitzhugh Lee of Virginia. These men are ex-Confederates."[41] But while white northerners were marching "side by side, shoulder to shoulder with their late foes," overcoming the wounds of the past, "the colored brother . . . is unanimously and universally plainly told that his services are not desired. Not even to stop a bullet from a better (?) man."[42]

The *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee* scoffed at the southern states' obvious repugnance at the thought of enlisting black volunteers. "This amazing anxiety for 'Sambo's' health is entirely incomprehensible. Give us a chance."[43] They assailed the government's refusal to appoint black officers. "All the negro asks is a chance to show what he can do under the command of one of his own soldiers," declared the *Washington Bee*.[44] The same newspaper even upbraided President McKinley—"does not . . . [your behavior] cause your cheeks to blush with shame?"[45] It also warned him that black Americans might abandon his administration: "we are tired of the [Republicans] patting the negro upon the shoulder and telling him he is 'a good negro.' "[46] Unlike the more cautious *Colored American*, the *Washington Bee* even intimated that African Americans might desert the flag:

> A man would be a very big fool to show patriotism for a government that says she does not want a people—not even to die in defence of a righteous cause—on account of color. . . . Have they [black volunteers] not been told that the unwashed rebels of the south are more preferable than they? Of the great number of colonels, generals, majors, captains, lieutenants etc. that have been appointed, how many who fought to destroy the union, and how many loyal blacks have been selected—who fought to uphold the government? . . . The Negro is willing and ready to serve his country when that country can serve and protect him.[47]

Black Americans stood between Scylla and Charybdis. If they failed to volunteer, they offered ammunition to those who "are striving to show that the martial spirit and sentiment of patriotism are absolutely wanting in our people" and that the black man "displays a dogged disposition to shirk the responsibility of citizenship in his indifference in the present war crisis." But these racists did not want "the colored soldier . . . except as plain hewers of wood and drawers of water or dirt fingers for fortifications. Herein lies the milk of the coconut." The *Washington Bee* argued that blacks should not enlist if they were going to be placed in humiliating circumstances—"when we go to war we want to go as men and not as servants, as citizens not as mere denizens." However, refusing to go to war unless these conditions were granted would only confirm the

41. *Colored American*, June 4, 1898.
42. *Washington Bee*, May 14, 1898. Question mark appears in the original.
43. *Colored American*, May 14, 1898.
44. *Washington Bee*, May 7, 1898.
45. *Washington Bee*, June 25, 1898.
46. *Washington Bee*, August 13, 1898.
47. *Washington Bee*, May 28, 1898.

prejudices of their enemies who accused them of lack of patriotism and courage.[48] And so, the *Washington Bee* railed against the lack of black officers and, almost in the same breath, pleaded that more blacks be allowed to enlist.[49]

Washington's three white dailies responded in different ways to the complaints of the *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee*. The pro-administration *Evening Star* praised the bravery of the black soldiers on four occasions.[50] The Democratic *Times* was less generous: only on one occasion, shortly after the end of the war, did it mention the bravery of the black troops—and then only in order to contrast the soldiers' gallantry with their "deviltry and general intractability."[51] But when it came to the complaints voiced by the *Washington Bee* and the *Colored American*, the *Evening Star* and the *Times* followed an identical approach—they simply never mentioned them, just as they never referred to the two black newspapers of their city. Their response was utter and complete silence.

The Democratic *Washington Post*, on the other hand, acknowledged the complaints of the *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee* and was exasperated by them. Blasting "the frothing" of "self-appointed colored leaders," it warned,

> Nobody cares three straws whether they [the blacks] go into the army or stay out of it. Nobody wants them at all unless they are ready to obey orders and accept discipline. The war will go right along whether the colored warriors join the army or stay at home. . . . What our colored friends need is a little common sense, with a dash of modesty to make it palatable. We are well enough disposed regarding them, but we are getting just a trifle tired of their editors and spokesmen with their ridiculous bombast and their stupid airs.[52]

The *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee* were not chastened. "If the *Post* ever loses an opportunity to insult and humiliate the colored people of the country, it is only when its editors are too busily engaged at the moment to give us the vicious 'upper-cut' so pleasing to their sportive instincts."[53] Three days later the *Washington Post* retorted:

> We have very little time to waste on the negro newspapers and so-called leaders who do not approve of *The Post*. It is of absolutely no consequence to us whether they approve or disapprove. . . . These noisy complainants do not represent even their own race, excepting, perhaps, the impudent and troublesome element of it. . . . This is the white man's country, which the white man intends to govern in its own way and for his own behoof.[54]

It was indeed the white man's country, the *Washington Bee* conceded, "and a barbarous one at that. Citizens are murdered and lynched without judge or jury, and because we

48. *Washington Bee*, June 18, 1898.

49. *Washington Bee*, July 23, 1898. All the newspapers in the survey were indignant except the *Freeman*, which warned that "an attempt to wring out concession at this juncture is simply suicidal." *Freeman*, May 28, 1898.

50. *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), August 3, 6, October 8, 24, 1898.

51. *Times* (Washington, D.C.), February 2, 1899.

52. *Washington Post*, May 26, 1898.

53. *Colored American*, June 4, 1898.

54. *Washington Post*, June 7, 1898.

demand recognition according to merit, we are told that we are impudent and troublesome."[55] The *Colored American* commented with bitter irony:

> Here are some definitions drawn from the newest edition of the *Washington Post* lexicon, revised and especially adapted for the benefit of its colored readers:
>
> "Sensible Negro": one who agrees with the Post's theory of the black man's place in the social system. . . .
> "A government of the people": one for the white people. . . .
> "Enlightened code": recognition of the white man's natural and inherent supremacy in all things, and divine right to rule the universe.[56]

While the *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee* crossed swords with the *Washington Post*, black soldiers themselves traded blows with whites.

Rather than creating a sense of brotherhood between black and white Americans, war with Spain increased racial tensions in the United States. "It would seem," remarked the *Richmond Planet*, "that the war . . . would tend to allay race prejudice and bring closer together the races in the South. It has had an opposite tendency for the number of lynchings has been steadily on the increase."[57] The reason for the increased violence against African Americans was simple: white Americans resented the sight of blacks with weapons—even (or perhaps especially) if the blacks were in the uniform of the U.S. Army. Also black Americans with guns and in uniform had a disquieting tendency to insist on their civil rights. Before the war the four black regiments of the regular army had been stationed in the distant western frontier. When the war began, black regiments, both regular and volunteer, gathered in the South, where most certainly they were not welcome. "The members of the Twenty-fifth infantry were so long in Montana that when they came in contact with the laws of Tennessee compelling the whites and Afro-Americans to ride in separate cars they strenuously objected, declaring that their uniforms entitled them to sit in any car on a train," explained the *Gazette*.[58] "The colored soldier must not permit himself to be betrayed into the assumption that he has changed or benefited his social condition by wearing a blue coat and carrying a gun," warned one Tennessee editor. "If he forgets himself, he will soon be reminded of his delinquency in a convincing manner."[59]

Incidents erupted between black soldiers and white civilians, and between black and white soldiers. There were murders, beatings, and vandalism. Most of the victims were black; and, more often than not, white soldiers from the North sided with white southerners against blacks. Like their southern friends, white northerners resented the demands of African Americans in uniform and indulged in casual violence against the black population near the army camps where blacks were stationed. The old scars of the

55. *Washington Bee*, June 11, 1898.
56. *Colored American*, July 2, 1898.
57. *Richmond Planet*, July 2, 1898.
58. *Gazette*, April 30, 1898.
59. Quotation from the *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis) appears in the *Colored American*, May 7, 1898.

Civil War faded as white northerners sat around the canteen in military camps with white southerners.[60]

During the first two weeks of May, the four regiments of black regulars arrived at Tampa, Florida, from which they were to embark for Cuba. "The colored infantrymen . . . have made themselves very offensive to the people of the city," the *Tampa Morning Tribune* announced. "The men insist upon being treated as white men are treated and the citizen will not make any distinction between the colored troops and the colored citizens."[61] As a result, there were continuous clashes as the black soldiers often refused to submit to the color bar and as the whites—both civilian and military—were incensed by the impudence of the African American troops. On the night of June 6, the tension that had been steadily mounting for more than a month exploded. A group of white volunteers from an Ohio regiment "decided to have some fun." A two-year-old black child was snatched from his mother by one of the white soldiers. The child was held at arm's length with his head down while several soldiers fired their weapons as close as possible to him. "Presumably the winner was the soldier who sent a bullet through the sleeve of the boy's shirt."[62] The boy was then returned to his dazed mother. In response, black soldiers went on a rampage. "They stormed into the streets [of Tampa] firing their pistols indiscriminately, wrecking saloons and cafes which had refused to serve them, and forcing their way into white brothels. Apparently they clashed not only with white civilians but with white soldiers." Finally, white troops from a Georgia volunteer unit were assigned to restore order, which they did with great relish. White soldiers from Michigan loudly expressed their regrets that the Georgians, not they, "had been chosen to 'get the niggers.' "[63]

The southern dailies were in an uproar about the savage behavior of the black troops. The *Colored American*, on the other hand, noted that

> The trouble between the negroes and whites at Tampa, Chattanooga, New Orleans and other points is due almost without exception to the fact that narrow-minded cads and shortsighted shopkeepers insisted upon making a difference in the treatment of United States soldiers, when the law did not recognize any. The black boys stood upon their rights, and the blame for the disorder rests wholly upon those who denied them what was legally theirs. Fair play would have prevented all the turmoil that has disgraced Uncle Sam's army in the South since the war began.[64]

60. The best treatment of these incidents is a series of articles by Willard B. Gatewood: "Alabama's 'Negro Soldier Experiment,' 1898-1899," *Journal of Negro History* 57 (October 1972): esp. 345-351; "North Carolina's Negro Regiment in the Spanish-American War," *North Carolina Historical Review* 47 (October 1971): esp. 382-385; "Negro Troops in Florida, 1898," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49 (July 1970): 1-15; "Indiana Negroes and the Spanish American War," *Indiana Magazine of History* 69 (1973): esp. 131-137. See also the letters of black soldiers in Gatewood, "*Smoked Yankees and the Struggle for Empire*," 101-178.

61. Quoted in Gatewood, "Negro Troops in Florida," 3.

62. *Gazette*, July 2, 1898.

63. Gatewood, "Negro Troops in Florida," 8, 10. "There is a good deal of feeling at Tampa between the white and colored soldier," a white volunteer from Arizona wrote home, "and a great deal of rough and tumble fighting has been the result, and a few negroes have been killed." A. D. Webb to the *Arizona Bulletin*, June 11, 1898, quoted in A. D. Webb, "Arizonans in the Spanish-American War," *Arizona Historical Review* 1 (January 1929): 55.

64. *Colored American*, August 20, 1898.

The point was lost on the white press in both the North and South, which consistently assigned blame for these incidents to the African Americans. "The completely lawless conduct of these troops since they came to Florida is extremely discouraging to the idea of colored volunteer enlistments," droned the Washington *Times*. The *Washington Post* pontificated,

> We fear that the negro troops, and especially those which have colored men as commissioned officers, must be set down as a failure. . . . The experience of the past few months has shown us that the negro officer is impossible under any circumstances, and that the negro soldiers are, as a rule, discordant with our scheme of society and civilization. It is useless to ignore facts. This is a white man's country, and the whites are not willing and cannot be compelled to accept the negro on equal terms in any relation of life.[65]

The end of the war brought no amelioration of relations between black and white Americans.

The armistice with Spain was signed on August 12, 1898. By October 1, when peace negotiations began in Paris, the November congressional campaign was well under way. The most important issue in the upcoming election was imperialism; but, in the few southern states where blacks retained some political rights, race became the crucial topic for political discussion. The concern for racial relations was paramount in North Carolina, the only southern state in which the Democrats were not in control and in which black officials were, as the New Orleans *Picayune* reported, "as plenty as blackberries."[66] In fact, African Americans in North Carolina comprised slightly more than one-third of the state's population, held less than seven percent of the seats in the state legislature, and occupied a limited (although impressive by southern standards) number of local offices.

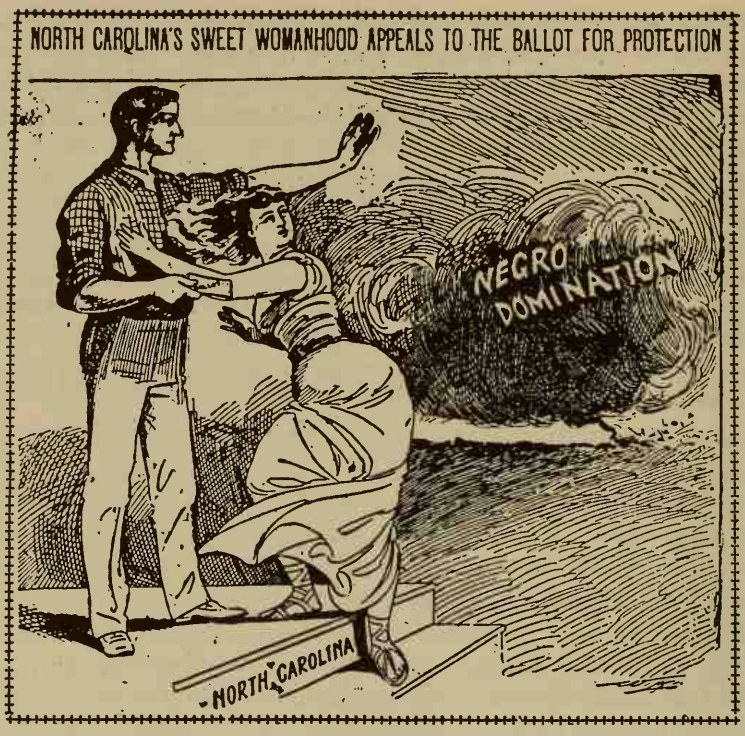
North Carolina's leading Democratic newspaper, the *News and Observer*, boldly proclaimed, "the question has resolved itself into a simple one, 'shall the white man or the black man rule in North Carolina?' "[67] Issue after issue of the paper, which was edited by Josephus Daniels, spewed forth its message of hatred, inveighing against the arrogance, the crimes, and the physical appearance of "Mr. Nigger," with his "flipity-flop lips" and his "big white teeth."[68] The very participation of black men in the war was used in the indictment against them. North Carolina had been the only southern state to raise a regiment of black volunteers with a full roster of black officers—flagrant proof, the Democrats cried, of Negro domination. As the electoral campaign drew to a close, the *News and Observer* concluded, "there is but one solution of the problem . . . the white

65. *Times* (Washington, D.C.), June 10, 1898; *Washington Post*, August 12, 1898.

66. *Picayune* quotation appears in *Literary Digest*, November 5, 1898, 540.

67. *News and Observer* (Raleigh), October 19, 1898.

68. *News and Observer*, October 25, 1898. Josephus Daniels acquired the *News and Observer* in 1894 and quickly transformed it into one of the South's most influential newspapers. Active in both state and national politics, Daniels served as secretary of the navy during both terms of Woodrow Wilson's presidency and was appointed U.S. ambassador to Mexico by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, s.v. "Daniels, Josephus."



In the autumn of 1898, newspapers throughout the South recorded the Democratic Party's vicious campaign to regain control of North Carolina politics. North Carolinians were bombarded by speeches and political cartoons that emphasized African American support for elected Fusionist, Populist, and Republican officials. Using the fear of "Negro Domination," especially the purported threat of black men to the virtue of white women, the Democrats were successful in the state's November elections. The cartoon (above) appeared in the *Atlanta Constitution*, October 2, 1898. One week before the election, the same newspaper predicted the end of "Negro Rule" in North Carolina. Front-page headline (below) from the *Atlanta Constitution*, October 29, 1898.

NORTH CAROLINIANS WILL FREE
THE STATE FROM NEGRO RULE

Ten Thousand Citizens Gather in an Open Air Mass Meeting and Decide to Have a Change.

man proposes to rule, and he will rule. He will rule peaceably if he can, he will rule forcibly if he must."[69]

The Republican *New York Times*, reporting on the campaign in North Carolina, noted "the intense race feeling prevalent in that section." It blandly assured its readers that no violence was taking place and observed that whites were stockpiling weapons.[70] The *Washington Post* provided more extensive coverage. Its sympathy with the whites was explicit: at issue, the *Post* asserted, was "the integrity of the Caucasian race."[71] It reported that white violence was filling "the negroes' souls with fear."[72] The *Post* argued that "it has become necessary to teach the Southern Negroes that they cannot rule over the property and the destinies of the superior race."[73] The outcome—the reinvigoration of the white supremacy movement—was predetermined; only the means of its attainment were in doubt. "Whether the revolution will come to North Carolina through a baptism of blood no one can say, but that it will come seems absolutely certain. . . . The negro will be practically disfranchised, through constitutional amendment, and where this is not effective, the shotgun will stand beside the ballot box."[74]

The black press watched in horror. "Not in thirty years has the majesty of the law been so openly defied, or the rights of a people so ruthlessly trampled upon," the *Colored American* exclaimed in despair. It continued:

> The Governor of North Carolina can preserve order if he will only avail himself of the authority vested in his hands. . . . The President of the United States, notwithstanding the state sovereignty bugaboo, can step in and use his "good offices" with telling effect. The negroes of North Carolina and the nation are trying to sustain the Administration of Mr. McKinley. Will he not draw upon the strong arm of the federal power to sustain them?[75]

If the governor dared not intervene and the president remained silent, what then could be done to help the African American? A few days before the election, the *Colored American*, a loyal pillar of the Republican Party, noted dryly that "some oppressed races have used the torch for wrongs less shameful than the negroes are compelled to suffer in North Carolina."[76]

69. *News and Observer*, November 6, 1898. On the 1898 election in North Carolina and its immediate aftermath, see especially, Helen G. Edmonds's pioneering *The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894-1901* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), 136-177. See also, Jeffrey J. Crow, "Maverick Republican in the Old North State: The Governorship of Daniel L. Russell, 1897-1901" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1974), 178-218; Robert Howard Wooley, "Race and Politics: The Evolution of the White Supremacy Campaign of 1898 in North Carolina" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1977); Jerome A. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington and New Hanover County, North Carolina, 1865-1900: The Genesis of a Race Riot" (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 1979), 515-815; H. Leon Prather Sr., *We Have Taken a City: Wilmington Racial Massacre and Coup of 1898* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984).

70. *New York Times*, October 25, 26, November 4, 5, 1898.

71. *Washington Post*, October 24, 1898.

72. *Washington Post*, November 1, 1898.

73. *Washington Post*, November 6, 1898.

74. *Washington Post*, November 7, 1898.

75. *Colored American*, November 5, 1898.

76. *Colored American*, November 5, 1898. Even the *Freeman* (Indianapolis), one of the most cautious of the newspapers in the survey, could not restrain its fury: "What has befallen the colored man in the South is fit

Could North Carolina's African Americans afford to fight back the attack against them? Neither the *Colored American* nor the *Washington Bee* had an answer. In addressing the "reign of terror in North Carolina," the *Washington* Bee lamented,

> The colored citizen of North Carolina is told if he . . . attempts to vote on Election Day, he will be killed. It is a question of conjecture with us whether it would be wise for the negro to repel these threats with armed force or whether it would be wise for him to remain away from the polls. If he goes to the polls, has he got sufficient force to protect himself? . . . Unless the negro of North Carolina is strong enough to meet any emergency, our advice to him is to remain away from the polls.[77]

The intimidation was successful: the great majority of African Americans in North Carolina did not go to the polls thereby ensuring a Democratic majority in the state's congressional delegation and their own political emasculation.

For many of North Carolina's white citizens the results of the election and the worsening situation for the state's African American population were not enough—blacks needed to be reminded that their situation was hopeless. Where better for that lesson than Wilmington, the state's largest city, and the place where African Americans enjoyed more influence than in any other southern city? More than one-half of Wilmington's population was of African American descent. The mayor was white, but three of the ten aldermen were black. The police chief and his five senior officers were white, but ten of the twenty-six patrolmen were black. A number of Wilmington's African Americans were successful lawyers, doctors, and craftsmen—professionals who competed directly with their white counterparts. A racial incident was overdue. The *New York Times* reported that in Wilmington on election day "very few Negroes were seen standing about the corners, and the Negro quarter was very quiet."[78] But, as the *Washington Post* noted, "many of the more hot-headed white men are indignant that the day has been allowed to pass without a clash of arms between the races. . . . [Blacks needed] a severe and bloody lesson."[79]

On November 10, two days after the election, a pogrom took place in Wilmington. "Nineteen Negroes Shot to Death," announced the *New York Times*.[80] "It was not a mob," a white eyewitness reported proudly. "It was a gathering of white men who were determined to teach a lesson—a lesson which should be practical, and contain no element of doubt."[81] Armed whites hunted down African Americans with the assistance of local members of the North Carolina State Guard. "The negroes are thoroughly terrorized," the *New York Times* reported the following day. "Hundreds of them have

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for revolutions. No country on earth thus degrades a portion of its citizens." *Freeman*, November 5, 1898.

77. *Washington Bee*, November 5, 1898. The same issue also contained the recommendation, "Every colored voter in North Carolina should peaceably endeavor to cast one Republican ballot next Tuesday."

78. *New York Times*, November 9, 1898. A journalist who had covered the elections noted approvingly that "in the Wilmington district a Republican majority of 5,000 in 1896 gave place to a Democratic majority of 6,000. . . . No one for a moment supposes that this was the result of a free and untrammelled ballot; and a Democratic victory here, as in other parts of the state, was largely the result of the suppression of the Negro vote." Henry L. West, "The Race War in North Carolina," *Forum* 26 (January 1899): 590.

79. *Washington Post*, November 9, 1898.

80. *New York Times*, November 11, 1898. Estimates of the number of blacks killed run from a low of twenty to thirty to well over one hundred.

81. West, "Race War in North Carolina," 584.

A. L. Manly, a mulatto, founded and edited Wilmington's only African American newspaper, the *Daily Record.* Reacting to a racist speech that decried the alleged widespread practice of black men raping white women, Manly wrote an editorial in which he bluntly refuted this belief as an exaggeration of fact. He continued by suggesting that many white women were willingly involved with black men. Manly then condemned the unpublicized crime of white men raping black women. Many contemporaries believed that this editorial precipitated the Wilmington race riot of November 10, 1898. Photograph from *Literary Digest*, December 3, 1898, p. 652.

left the city, fleeing through the country in all directions tonight."[82] The mob burned the offices of Wilmington's black newspaper, the *Daily Record.*[83] Many of the city's leading African Americans were deported along with several whites who had "rendered themselves odious to the best element of the community . . . [because of their] association with negro politics." Among these white "leaders of turbulent negroes" whom Wilmington "has vomited forth" were the mayor, Silas P. Wright, and the chief of police, John R. Melton. The "good work" was accomplished "with fixed bayonets," and many barely escaped lynching while boarding northbound trains "with instructions to leave North Carolina and never return."[84]

82. *New York Times*, November 12, 1898.

83. Founded by Alex L. Manly in 1894, the *Weekly Record* proved so successful that it became a daily in 1897. Manly was in Philadelphia at the time of the riot and never returned to Wilmington. The *Daily Record* ceased publication after the destruction of its offices.

84. *News and Observer*, November 12, 1898.

Wilmington's *Daily Record* was the only daily African American newspaper in the United States in the late 1890s. On November 10, 1898, white rioters ransacked and burned the newspaper's offices. Having traveled to Philadelphia on business several days earlier, *Daily Record* editor A. L. Manly avoided becoming a victim of the men who destroyed the newspaper. Photograph from *Collier's Weekly*, November 26, 1898, courtesy of the State Archives, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

The *News and Observer* bluntly established blame for the riot. "The negroes are responsible for the precipitation of the race war," it announced on November 11.[85] Two days later the Raleigh newspaper reflected on what had happened in the port town: "Unlike the French Revolution everything was done in Wilmington in due form and strictly in accordance with law. All those concerned in it were lovers of order and justice."[86] From pulpits throughout the state black preachers urged submission and white preachers sang praise to God. "This city . . . has been redeemed for civilization, redeemed for law and order, redeemed for decency and respectability," the *News and Observer* proclaimed.[87]

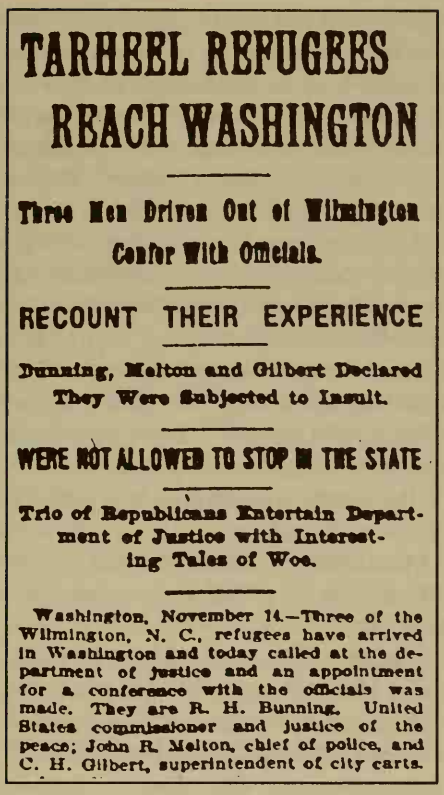
Surveying the ruins, the *Colored American* issued a solemn query: "Our people cannot honorably yield an inch of the ground now, after so much sacrifice, labor and bloodshed. . . . On the other hand, armed resistance, in our unprepared state, would avail us nothing but humiliation and defeat. . . . What, then, must we do to be saved?"[88] African Americans had few allies and even fewer choices. They could hope that the American people had a sense of justice and would not permit the violence against blacks to

85. *News and Observer*, November 11, 1898.

86. *News and Observer*, November 13, 1898.

87. *News and Observer*, November 15, 1898.

88. *Colored American*, December 3, 1898. For a summary of the reaction of eleven African American papers to the Wilmington riot, see the *Richmond Planet*, December 3, 1898. The Democratic *Broad Ax* (November 19, 1898) was as scathing in its condemnation of "the monstrous outrages which are now perpetrated upon us" in North Carolina as were the Republican papers and shared their despair. On November 12th the same newspaper had proclaimed that "We still believe that the negro would have been ten million times better off if the slave ships which brought him to these shores had sunk to the bottom of the sea while they were speeding from coast to coast, fanned by the wings of the holy ghost." *Broad Ax*, November 12, 1898.



TARHEEL REFUGEES REACH WASHINGTON

Three Men Driven Out of Wilmington Confer With Officials.

RECOUNT THEIR EXPERIENCE

Dunning, Melton and Gilbert Declared They Were Subjected to Insult.

WERE NOT ALLOWED TO STOP IN THE STATE

Trio of Republicans Entertain Department of Justice with Interesting Tales of Woe.

Washington, November 14.—Three of the Wilmington, N. C., refugees have arrived in Washington and today called at the department of justice and an appointment for a conference with the officials was made. They are R. H. Bunning, United States commissioner and justice of the peace; John R. Melton, chief of police, and C. H. Gilbert, superintendent of city carts.

African Americans were not the only victims in the Wilmington race riot. A number of white city officials and citizens who were friendly toward Wilmington's black community were denounced, hastily boarded onto northbound trains, and told never to return. On November 14, 1898, several of these refugees arrived in Washington, D.C., where they testified before Department of Justice officials on their experiences in the riot. Headline from the *Atlanta Constitution*, November 15, 1898.

continue. They could also hope for renewed support from President McKinley and the Republican-controlled Congress. But, as the *Colored American* challenged, "the white man's civilization is on trial. Will he be manly enough to choose the better part?"[89]

The *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee* did not ask the president to send troops to the South to uphold the rights of the African Americans. Instead, they proposed a more modest solution. The Fourteenth Amendment stated that if a state denied the right to vote to eligible citizens, the representation of that state would be reduced accordingly. "This means a reduction in the number of Southern congressmen, and the statute furnishes a legal and peaceful method of bringing it about," declared the *Colored American*.[90] Noting that "a great deal of fuss is being raised over the admission of

89. *Colored American*, November 12, 1898.
90. *Colored American*, December 17, 1898.

Mr. [Brigham H.] Roberts of Utah to a seat in Congress, to which he has been honestly elected, the objection to him being that he has a plurality of wives," the newspaper argued, "we might have more faith in the sincerity of these moralists if they objected with equal fervor to the seating of a score of southern members whose seats were confessedly won by resort to the most shameful methods of fraud, bloodshed and outlawry. Why strain at a gnat and swallow a camel?"[91] The insult to America's white women by a polygamistic congressman warranted more concern than the widespread violation of the rights of African Americans. "A man with three wives can consume more of the precious time of Congress than the cold-blooded murder of fifty or more American citizens who were refused the aid of the law in two or more states of the United States," mused the *Parsons Weekly Blade*. "Curious, isn't it? But this is America."[92]

The *New York Times* lamented "the riotous proceedings in North and South Carolina,"[93] but it did so gently and with understanding. "We do not blame the whites of the South exclusively, . . . [or even] chiefly," it asserted.[94] There were so many extenuating circumstances, and far more important than apportioning blame was the building of a better future. "We like to think that as the Southern States grow in population, indus- try, and wealth the principles of orderly civic life and equality before the law will gain greater force," the *Times* continued.[95] Meanwhile, it warned that the only thing that the president could do to help the blacks was "to refrain from appointing any more colored men to Federal offices in the South."[96]

The black press, on the other hand, eagerly awaited McKinley's December 5 message to Congress with the hope that the president "will not fail to . . . recommend such action by Congress as will protect the citizens of the States from such tyranny, riot and assassination as were exhibited in North and South Carolina."[97] The message, however, proved to be another disappointment. "Our people . . . have been lynched, despoiled of property, denied justice in the courts, cheated at the ballot box, and outraged in innumerable ways," the *Colored American* observed. "Yet the Chief Executive . . . has no word of sympathy to offer—not a hint of regret or sorrow, not an appeal to his fellow countrymen to preserve the peace and honor the heritage of liberty bequeathed by our

91. *Colored American*, December 17, 1898.

92. *Parsons Weekly Blade*, December 10, 1898. On January 25, 1900, the U.S. House of Representatives refused to seat Roberts by a 268 to 50 vote. On the Roberts case, see *New York Times*, December 10, 1898; *Literary Digest*, December 10, 24, 1898, 682-683, 752-754; *Parsons Weekly Blade*, December 31, 1898; Davis Bitton, "The B. H. Roberts Case of 1898-1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (January 1957): 27-46.

93. *New York Times*, November 13, 1898. While the worst violence was in North Carolina, South Carolina also celebrated the election results with a wave of lynchings. See *New York Times*, November 9, 11, 13, 1898; *Washington Post*, November 9-11, 15, 1898; *Evening Star*, November 17, 1898; Tom Henderson Wells, "The Phoenix Election Riot," *Phylon* 31 (spring 1970): 58-69; Bruce Lee Kleinschmidt, "The Phoenix Riot," *Furman Review* 5 (spring 1974): 27-31.

94. *New York Times*, November 22, 1898.

95. *New York Times*, November 13, 1898.

96. *New York Times*, November 18, 1898. The *Evening Star* followed a line largely similar to that of the *New York Times* in its reporting of the campaign in North Carolina, the election results, and the violence that occurred there and elsewhere in the South. The *Times* (Washington, D.C.), like the *Washington Post*, was more unabashed in its support of white violence.

97. *Washington Bee*, November 19, 1898.

fathers."[98] McKinley said nothing, and he was not alone in his silence. "None of the other leaders of the republican party nor any of the prominent statesmen of the country have had anything to say in condemnation of the recent brutal exhibition in the Carolinas," proclaimed the *Gazette*.[99]

The president and white America were preoccupied with celebrating the end of the war and the return of harmony between white Americans, North and South.[100] A week after his message to Congress, McKinley left Washington to attend the Peace Jubilee in Atlanta. "Sectional lines no longer mar the map of the United States," he told the Georgia legislature.[101] "Under a hostile fire on a foreign soil, fighting in a common cause, the memory of old disagreements has faded into history." Southerners had responded promptly "to the call of the country, entrusted with the able leadership of men dear to them, who had marched with their fathers under another flag, now fighting under the old flag again."[102] McKinley's words, the *Evening Star* explained, "suggest that a long step has been taken toward the final closing of the breach between the sections which has been steadily narrowing year by year since the close of the war. The war with Spain did more than any previous event to bring the peoples of the two sections nearer together."[103]

In Atlanta, Montgomery, Selma, Savannah, and the other cities McKinley visited in his week-long tour of Georgia and Alabama, the people responded enthusiastically. The *New York Times* recorded several poignant moments. "One Confederate veteran, now a venerable legislator . . . buried his head in his arms and cried like a little child," as the President announced that the federal government would care for the graves of the Confederate dead.[104] Another Confederate veteran stood by the Confederate monument in Macon and "frantically waved a Confederate flag, while by his side was the son of the Colonel of one of Georgia's hardest fighting Confederate regiments, who was as vigorously waving the Stars and Stripes. When the president was abreast of them the two flags were brought to a salute side by side."[105] The *Colored American* noted that "today the name of McKinley is cheered to the echo, and he is hailed as the 'President of the whole people.' The Negro is studying the effect of this apparent 'era of good feeling' upon his own fortunes."[106] The answer was at hand; for as one African American newspaper had forewarned several weeks earlier, "The closer the south and north get as a result

98. *Colored American*, December 17, 1898. For a review of the reaction of twenty-two African American newspapers to McKinley's message, see *Richmond Planet*, December 17, 1898.

99. *Gazette*, December 10, 1898.

100. See especially, Richard Wood, "The South and Reunion, 1898," *Historian* 31 (May 1969): 415-430. See also, Nina Silber, "The Romance of Reunion: Northern Images of the South, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1989), 333-397.

101. *New York Times*, December 15, 1898.

102. *New York Times*, December 16, 1898.

103. *Evening Star*, December 15, 1898.

104. *New York Times*, December 15, 1898.

105. *New York Times*, December 20, 1898.

106. *Colored American*, December 24, 1898.

In his inaugural address (March 4, 1897), Republican President William McKinley condemned the practice of lynching and acknowledged the importance of the black vote in his election. As violence against African Americans greatly increased in the autumn of 1898, the black community anticipated that the president would address this growing problem in his speech to the Congress on December 5, 1898. Reflecting the tenuous political situation of African Americans in the aftermath of the November elections, McKinley's speech made no reference to blacks or the violence they suffered. Etching from the *Atlanta Constitution*, December 11, 1898.

of the present war, the harder it will be for the Afro-American regardless of the part he plays in it."[107]

McKinley had traveled to Atlanta to encourage support for the most controversial provision of the peace treaty with Spain, the annexation of the Philippines by the United States. His rousing appeals—"who will haul . . . [the U.S. flag] down? Answer me, ye men of the South. Who is there in Dixie who will haul it down?"[108]—were appropriately matched by what the *Washington Post* called his "delicate tact . . . in dealing with the negro question."[109] The *News and Observer* recorded that "Mr. McKinley has come and gone and not a word has he said about the rights of the 'down-trodden' blacks."[110] This demonstrated, according to the Washington *Times*, "great good sense."[111]

107. *Gazette*, July 2, 1898.

108. *Washington Post*, December 16, 1898.

109. *Washington Post*, December 19, 1898.

110. *News and Observer*, December 20, 1898.

111. The *Times* (Washington, D.C.), December 19, 1898. The *Parsons Weekly Blade* observed that "It's a wonder the southern whites in Georgia didn't lynch a Negro just to show McKinley a freak of southern chivalry. No doubt he would have enjoyed such gay sport." *Parsons Weekly Blade*, December 31, 1898.

In February 1899, the U.S. Senate moved to ratify the treaty with Spain, and the Filipinos began a war of independence to resist American conquest. At this time, white America was engaged in fierce debate: imperialists spoke of glory, commercial gain, duty, and the white man's burden; anti-imperialists spoke of America's democratic traditions, the costs of empire, and the burden of dealing with ten million savages. For African Americans, the backdrop of the debate was increased white violence against blacks at home. "Lynching Colored Men By the Wholesale," read a headline in the *Richmond Planet*. Meanwhile, the *Gazette* lamented that "there is not another country under the sun that is so absolutely neglectful of its colored citizens . . . not one where its children are so lawless and so heartless in its dealings with its black citizens."[112] A gruesome symbol of the growing white savagery against blacks was the lynching of Sam Hose, an African American who confessed to having killed a white man.

On April 23, 1899, Sam Hose was seized from his jail cell in Newnan, Georgia, by a mob of angry whites. For half an hour he was slowly mutilated. "While he pleaded pitifully for mercy and begged his tormentors to let him die," the men severed his ears, and then they cut off his fingers one by one. Finally, he was burned alive. "The torch was applied about 2:30, and at 3 o'clock the body of Sam Hose was limp and lifeless. . . . The body was not cut down. It was cut to pieces. The crowd fought for places about the smoldering tree, and with knives secured such pieces of his carcass as had not crumbled away." One special and two regular trains "carried nearly 4,000 people" to witness the burning or to visit the scene of the lynching.[113] "Special train for Newnan! All aboard for the burning!" the criers yelled.[114] The *New York Times* reported that "the excursionists returning . . . [were] loaded down [with souvenirs] . . . bones, pieces of flesh, and parts of the wood which was placed at the negro's feet."[115] The paper also noted that "one enthusiast procured a slice of the heart, which he took to Atlanta to present to the Governor."[116] Another three to four thousand spectators visited the scene of the lynching the following day.

In the days after the incident, the governor of Georgia blamed the blacks for the entire episode, and the U.S. attorney general hastened to declare that no federal law had been violated and that "the government would take no action whatever."[117] Following a series of lynchings in the summer of 1898, the *Colored American* had issued a challenging declaration:

112. *Richmond Planet*, July 29, 1899; *Gazette*, February 11, 1899.

113. *New York Times*, April 24, 1899.

114. Quotation from the report of a white detective who had been hired by a group of African Americans from Chicago to investigate the incident. The report stated that the lynching had been advertised several hours in advance and that "a special train was engaged as an excursion train to take people to the burning. . . . After this special moved out, another was made up to accomodate the late comers and those who were at church." The report was published in its entirety in the *Richmond Planet*, October 14, 1899.

115. *New York Times*, April 24, 1899.

116. *New York Times*, April 25, 1899.

117. *New York Times*, April 25, 1899. The same issue also contained other stories of violence against African Americans in Georgia. In one lynching the victim was strangled after having his ears cut off. Another black Georgian was stripped to his waist and received one hundred lashes. "His offense was the remark that the negroes should pay no attention to notices pinned on their doors to leave the country." There were also reports on "Race Troubles in Arkansas" and of blacks being attacked by a mob in Louisiana.

The attempt to acquit this government of all moral responsibility for the quintuple lynching in Arkansas is a contemptible plea in confession and avoidance. Technically, the theory of state rights, etc., may estop the federal powers from forcing a state to punish its murderers and lawbreakers, but there rests upon every nation a moral obligation to exhaust every resource, civil and military, to protect life and property within its borders. . . . If the organic law shields murder and rapine, the law is wrong, and should be modified or abolished.[118]

After the lynching of Sam Hose and in light of American involvement in the Philippines, the *Colored American* sarcastically suggested that "perhaps some members of the Georgia mob that burned Sam Hose might be induced to accept an assignment to carry civilization and Christianity to the heathenish Filipinos."[119]

It is not surprising that the *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee* were opposed to the annexation of the Philippines. Unlike the mainstream white press, they expressed concern for the rights of the Filipinos and admiration for their "stubborness, bravery and prowess."[120] At a time when African Americans were being "butchered like hogs,"[121] robbed of the vote, and discriminated against in every sphere of life, it was impossible to deny that "there is some analogy between the struggle which is now going on among the colored people for constitutional liberty and that of a similar race in the Orient and hence a bond of sympathy naturally springs up."[122]

While white Americans rallied to British author Rudyard Kipling's call for an imperialist crusade, the *Colored American* remained skeptical, proclaiming that

with all due respect for the alleged genius of one Rudyard Kipling, his latest conglomeration of rot about the "white man's burden" makes us very, very tired. It has ever been the dark races who have born the world's burdens both in the heat of the day and the travail of the night. The white man has never had a burden that was not self-imposed, sometimes through a temporary wave of indignation or charity, but more frequently through greed of gold and territory. Might has been made to pose for right and the weak and untutored people have had burdens forced upon them at the mouth of the cannon or point of the bayonet. The white man's burden is a myth. The black man's burden is a crushing, grinding reality. Let us have done with cant and hypocrisy.[123]

118. *Colored American*, August 20, 1898.

119. *Colored American*, April 29, 1899. Not unreasonably, the *Gazette* argued that there was a relationship of cause and effect between African American participation in the war against Spain and increased savagery of southern lynchers: "It was repeatedly said by Afro-American volunteers, until a few months ago in camp in Georgia, that as soon as they were mustered out of the service the treatment of our people in that section of the country would be terrible. Their statements were only too true. Smarting under the check which the presence of these soldiers had upon them in various parts of the south, prejudiced white brutes . . . lost no time in carrying on their nefarious crusade against our people . . . the moment the Afro-American volunteers were mustered out." *Gazette*, April 29, 1899.

120. *Washington Bee*, March 11, 1899.

121. *Colored American*, March 18, 1899.

122. *Washington Bee*, March 11, 1899.

123. *Colored American*, March 18, 1899. The *Washington Bee* was no less firm: "The 'white man's burden' is his want of Christianity, his prejudice, his greed, his arrogance and false pride, and when they are removed the mythical burden will disappear as mist before the rising sun." *Washington Bee*, March 11, 1899. The *Parsons Weekly Blade* expressed the hope that whites would take their burden to the white savages "in a certain section of America, who lynch, shoot and burn at the stake innocent people." *Parsons Weekly Blade*, March 25, 1899.

VOL. XXXI ATLANTA, GA. MONDAY MORNING. APRIL 24 1899.

SAM HOLT, MURDERER AND ASSAILANT, BURNED AT THE STAKE AT NEWNAN

After He Confessed to the Crime He Was Executed in the Presence of 2,000 People.

WAS CAPTURED SATURDAY NIGHT IN MACON COUNTY

His Ears Were Cut Off Before He Was Killed and He Suffered Untold and Indescribable Agonies.

Arrival in Newnan.

~A SNAPSHOT OF HOLT~ ON HIS WAY TO NEWNAN

In the spring of 1899 incidents of violence against the black community continued to grow throughout the South. On April 23, 1899, Sam Hose (or Holt), an African American who had willingly confessed to having killed a white man, was taken from his jail cell in Newnan, Georgia. Before a crowd of more than two thousand people, Hose was cruelly tortured and burned alive. Spectators then fought over his charred body for souvenirs. Headline from the *Atlanta Constitution*, April 24, 1899. The inset etching of a photograph depicts Sam Hose being taken to Newnan after his capture in Griffin, Georgia, on April 22. Etching from the *Atlanta Constitution*, April 25, 1899.

And so, African Americans opposed annexation; and, at times, they were hardly able to hide their contempt for and their rage at the lies, the insensitivity, and the injustice of the white race. At the same time black Americans were struggling not to appear unpatriotic and not to offend those on whose sufferance they depended. "We are none the less Americans when we say to our leaders: 'Go slow in this matter of expansion,' " pleaded the *Colored American*. "We are none the less loyal to our common country when we discountenance indiscriminate land-grabbing and the despoliation of weaker races."[124] While extolling "our magnificent government,"[125] the *Colored American* also complained that "a Negro was killed by a white man in Virginia this week. The murderer was fined $10. The press silent; the church dumb; the law impotent; the President

124. *Colored American*, March 11, 1899.
125. *Colored American*, February 11, 1899.

indifferent!"[126] Ironically, as the black press observed, American troops were indeed needed, not in the Philippine conflict, but "to protect a larger class of American citizens on American soil, the boasted 'home of the free and the land of the brave.'"[127] Renowned African American clergyman Henry Turner dryly commented, "there's no place in this infernal country for manly Negroes." After making this statement, "he [Turner] strode across the platform shaking his massive head and incubating a sentence which he hurled at 'Old Glory,' saying of it the stars on you belong to the white man, the stripes to the Negro."[128]

Opposition in the African American press to the United States's annexation of the Philippines was short-lived. "Expansion is a fraud," the *Washington Bee* had thundered in February 1899.[129] Two months later, however, it pledged, "the colored people are willing and ready to do their part."[130] The *Washington Bee* was silent about its sudden conversion. The *Colored American*, which had engaged in a similar reversal a few weeks later, was more frank. "As is well known to our readers, the *Colored American* since the conclusion of the Spanish-American war, has not been enthusiastic for what is generally termed 'expansion.'" After much soul-searching, however, it had reached the conclusion that

> stripped of patriotic considerations, our racial sympathies would naturally be with the Filipinos. They are fighting manfully for what they conceive to be their best interests. But we cannot, for the sake of sentiment, turn our back upon our own country, to give aid and comfort to any people in arms against it. There can be no two opinions as to where the Afro-American's allegiance lies, when the parting of the ways is reached.[131]

White Americans could afford to be anti-imperialists, and they could afford to be accused of lack of patriotism; however, for black Americans the gamble was far more dangerous.

More important than the rights of the Filipinos and solidarity among nonwhites was the desperate eagerness of African Americans to be accepted at home. Despite all of the disappointments of the recent past, the opportunity to fight side by side with white soldiers and under their own officers in the Philippines seemed to be a crucial step toward citizenship. Yet, when it soon appeared that black troops would not participate in the Philippine expedition, the *Colored American* reverted to its earlier position, stating that "we are glad no colored soldiers have so far been sent to assist in the subjugation of the spirited Filipinos. We hope none will be sent."[132] A few weeks later, when it became apparent that black regular troops would be sent to the Philippines, the *Colored American*'s position changed again; and it pleaded, "give us officers of our own, and let all work together as one for the glory of the nation, since duty calls us to

126. *Colored American*, September 9, 1899.
127. *Colored American*, December 3, 1898.
128. *Colored American*, September 2, 1899.
129. *Washington Bee*, February 4, 1899.
130. *Washington Bee*, April 29, 1899.
131. *Colored American*, November 11, 1899.
132. *Colored American*, April 29, 1899.

fight for the flag, wherever it waves."[133] The *Colored American*'s conversion did not come without qualifications. "There can be but little or no heartfelt enthusiasm in the fight the black soldiers will put up against the Filipinos, . . . [but] as American citizens they can be depended upon to do their full duty, bravely and conscientiously."[134]

On September 17, 1899, the *Colored American* announced the good news that "the administration has realized that its failure to utilize the valor and experience of Negro soldiers in the Philippines was an unjust discrimination and a mistake. . . . An order for the organization of two colored [volunteer] regiments was issued by the War Department last Friday." Not only were black regular troops being sent to the Philippines, black volunteer soldiers would also be permitted to participate. All the senior officers of the regiments would be white, but the junior officers would be black.[135] Although this was not the ideal situation for which the *Colored American* had hoped, the editor reminded his readers that "it is step by step that a great people go forward—never by leaps."[136]

Just as the attitude of the *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee* toward the Philippine war shifted, so too did their attitude toward the McKinley administration. When the war against Spain began, both papers had been full of praise for the president. After the disastrous November elections, however, little of the enthusiasm remained. The *Colored American* declared that "Negroes who are not close personal friends of the President indict him . . . for his moral cowardice in failing to utter one word publicly in condemnation of the barbarities of the social degenerates of the South . . . for his failure to recognize and reward negroes who participated in the late war against Spain; and for refusing to appoint negro officers to command negro troops in that war."[137] Criticism of the president was accompanied by threats that African Americans would withdraw their support from the Republican Party. The Republican *Washington Bee*, pondering its future, insisted that "the *Bee* expects to be Republican if it is permitted to do so, but while that is true, it is not necessary for all the negroes to die the same death especially if it is to their detriment. The negro has been and is told that his government is powerless to protect him. . . . The negro vote ought to divide, because it will be to his interest."[138] Threats soon gave way to praise as the *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee* swallowed their complaints, silenced their bitterness, and urged blacks to vote for the Republican Party and its magnanimous leader. "All things considered, the President has done exceedingly well toward the negro," the *Colored American* noted.[139]

133. *Colored American*, June 24, 1899. The first black troops arrived in the Philippines in July 1899.

134. *Colored American*, September 9, 1899.

135. *Colored American*, September 16, 1899. The two black volunteer regiments began arriving in Manila in January 1900.

136. *Colored American*, October 7, 1899. On African American participation in the Philippines expedition, the *Gazette* and the *Parsons Weekly Blade* followed the same tortured course as the *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee*. From the onset the *Freeman* and the *State Ledger* endorsed the administration's position that African Americans could not afford to be considered "half-hearted and cold" in their patriotism. *Freeman*, May 6, 1899.

137. *Colored American*, August 5, 1899.

138. *Washington Bee*, March 11, 1899.

139. *Colored American*, October 7, 1899.

Editors of many of the African American newpapers expressed their frustration at the attention shown by the American people to the election of Brigham H. Roberts, a Utah polygamist, to the U.S. House of Representatives in November 1898. The editors believed that public attention should have been focused on several of Roberts's colleagues—the southern congressmen who had secured their elections through the use of fear and violence against the black community. Photograph from *Literary Digest*, December 10, 1898, p. 683.

It was a humiliating turnabout; but, as the *Washington Bee* asked, if the black man left the Republican Party, "where is he to go? Is he going to the men and party which are butchering him?"[140] And, if African Americans had no alternative but to remain with the Republican Party, could they afford to criticize the party and its leader too harshly? Earlier in the year, the *Washington Bee* had declared that McKinley "will be nominated and if nominated he will be elected. Before the colored brother takes any hasty step he should first consider the cost and the final result."[141] The paper also cautiously observed that "We . . . are powerless without the aid of friends to better our political condition."[142]

President McKinley won reelection in 1900, as the African American voters—those who could still vote—overwhelmingly supported the Republican ticket. Black troops did fight in the Philippines, and they fought well. Meanwhile, the situation for African

140. *Washington Bee*, July 29, 1899.
141. *Washington Bee*, April 15, 1899.
142. *Washington Bee*, April 1, 1899.

Americans in the South continued to deteriorate without interference from indifferent white Americans in the North. As one African American woman noted in 1904,

> The whole country seems tired of hearing about the black man's woes. . . . The wrongs of the Irish, of the Armenians, of the Roumanian and Russian Jews, of the exiles of Russia and of every other oppressed people upon the face of the globe, can arouse the sympathy and fire the indignation of the American public, while they seem to be all but indifferent to the murderous assaults upon the negroes in the South.[143]

This indifference would prove to be resistant to change.

While a number of African American newspapers were more submissive and others were more outspoken, the *Washington Bee* and the *Colored American* represent the mainstream black press. The former appears to have been somewhat more aggressive than the latter; but, in fact, both papers zigzagged back and forth as they groped for a solution to an impossible and deteriorating situation. Time and again, they demonstrated themselves to be proud and servile, aggressive and submissive.[144]

It is a poignant story—the story of an oppressed people and how they dealt with their tormentors. It is a story that is repeated again and again in a great many countries and in the United States as well. In the 1960s Malcolm X could at least turn to the outside world, to the African countries in particular; it was of limited help, to be sure, but at least it relieved the sense of being desperately alone.[145] The disapproval of African countries and the opportunities that American racism might have offered to the Soviet Union did worry the United States government.[146] However, in the 1890s Africa

143. Mary Church Terrell, "Lynching from a Negro's Point of View," *North American Review* 178 (June 1904): 868.

144. Of the newspapers in the survey only the *Richmond Planet* was more outspoken than the *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee*. It was also the only Republican paper in the survey that consistently opposed the annexation of the Philippines throughout 1899. See *Richmond Planet*, July 22, December 23, 1898. The *Freeman* and the *State Ledger*, on the other hand, were more submissive. The *Freeman* made its rationale clear when it stated that "for the race the questions are always as to the expediency and never as to the exact and even handed justice. Humiliation versus political and civil extermination is the just and correct summary of events as they stand today." *Freeman*, November 19, 1899. None of the other newspapers would have disagreed. In the end all agreed that humiliation was the only course available for African Americans. The Democratic *Broad Ax* was the most outspoken of the newspapers in its criticism of the Republican Party. Interestingly, its attitude toward the Democratic Party and William Jennings Bryan mirrored that of the *Colored American* and the *Washington Bee* toward the Republican Party and President McKinley.

145. See Malcolm X and Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1973), 347-363; John Henrik Clarke, ed., *Malcolm X: The Man and His Times* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1990), 288-301, 335-342; Carlos Moore, *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa* (Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California, 1988), 185-190. See also *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), July 11, 1964; *Egyptian Gazette* (Cairo), August 7, 17, 23, 25, 1964; *Dipanda* (Brazzaville), September 12, 1964; *Tanganyka Standard* (Dar es Salaam), October 13, 1964.

146. "I think you could make a barometric chart of how civil rights were going," a senior State Department official mused, "through the relationships you had with many Africans." See page 77 of Mennen Williams, "Oral History Interview," 1970, John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, Mass. Documents in the Kennedy Library (esp. National Security File, boxes 2 and 3) and the Mennen Williams Papers in the National Archives (esp. Subject File, box 16), Washington, D.C., show the concern of both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations about the impact on Africans of the civil rights situation in the United States. See also Piero Gleijeses, " 'Flee! The White Giants Are Coming!' The United States, the Mercenaries, and the Congo, 1964-1965," *Diplomatic History* 18 (April 1994): 207-237.

lay in chains, and Europe was indifferent. The only hope for African Americans was to appeal to the conscience of white Americans. In October 1898 the *Washington Bee* proposed that "there is an American conscience. It needs only to be awakened to see its duty and to act."[147] At the end of the nineteenth century the American conscience was slumbering, and neither the *Washington Bee* nor the *Colored American* could awaken it.

Dr. Gleijeses is professor of American foreign policy at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C.

147. *Washington Bee*, October 29, 1898.

Robert D. W. Connor Award Presented to Jon F. Sensbach

Jon F. Sensbach received the 1995 Robert D. W. Connor Award, which included a check for $250. Dr. Robert M. Calhoon, president of the Historical Society of North Carolina, presented the award.

Dr. Jon F. Sensbach received the 1995 Robert D. W. Connor Award for his article "Culture and Conflict in the Early Black Church: A Moravian Mission Congregation in Antebellum North Carolina," which appeared in the October 1994 issue of the *North Carolina Historical Review*. Sensbach received a bachelor's degree from the University of Virginia in 1980 and a doctorate from Duke University in 1991. Professionally, he has served as a historian at Old Salem, Inc., assistant professor of history at the College of William and Mary, and NEH Fellow at the Institute of Early American History and Culture. Assistant professor of history at the University of Southern Mississippi since 1994, Sensbach is completing *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840*, which will be published by the UNC Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture.

The Robert D. W. Connor Award has been presented since 1953 by the Historical Society of North Carolina for the best article based on original research in the field of North Carolina history published in the *North Carolina Historical Review* in the twelve-month period from August to and including July of the year in which the award is made. Connor (1878-1950), a native of Wilson, served as the first secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission (1903-1921) and as the first archivist of the United States (1935-1941). He was intermittently a member of the faculty of the University of North Carolina from 1921 until 1949; and he was a member of and/or chairman of the executive board of the Department of Archives and History from 1942 until his death.

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Mr. Anthony is curator of the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. *He acknowledges the assistance of Lula M. Avent, Alice R. Cotten, Jeffrey T. Hicks, Eileen L. McGrath, Harry W. McKown Jr., Angelyn H. Patteson, Deborah A. Perotti, and John P. Williams of the collection's staff and of former curator H. G. Jones and former staff member Pamela W. Cross.*

Book Reviews

Slavery in North Carolina, 1748-1775. By Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Acknowledgments, maps and figures, introduction, conclusion, appendix, tables, notes, index. Pp. xv, 402. $45.00.)

Kay and Cary argue that African slaves in North Carolina during the eighteenth century operated outside of their owner's "cultural hegemony." Neither in 1748, when two-thirds of the slaves were born in Africa, nor by 1775, when only one-third were African born, did slaves participate extensively in European American cultural institutions. Naming practices, family formation, language, and religious belief remained largely African and point to extensive resistance on the part of slaves. Instead, the authors contend that masters controlled slaves only through a system of discipline and punishment based on fear. Kay and Cary concentrate on the development of a criminal justice system for slaves that contained harsher punishments for bondspeople than for nonslaves. For slaves, even the ultimate penalty of death was often accompanied by torture (such as castration prior to hanging).

One of the book's contributions is illustrating how slavery adapted to the production of a variety of crops and other goods for market, particularly naval stores such as turpentine, tar, pitch, and barrel staves, as well as crops such as flax, turnips, wheat, and corn. The implications of the study suggest the adaptability of the institution beyond the crops of tobacco, sugar, and rice, on which studies of other colonies have focused. Although the highest concentration of slaves lived and worked in the Cape Fear region, where almost two-thirds of the population were African American, slaves lived throughout colonial North Carolina in varying concentrations.

The authors' conclusions are based on careful documentation and an overview of the statistics of slavery during the period, ranging from population, average size of estates, family sizes, naming patterns, and religious conversions, to data on runaways, punishments, and compensation to masters for slaves executed for crimes. The study draws deeply on archival sources—court and legislative records, laws, and estate inventories. It uses non-North Carolina slave accounts such as the well-known autobiographies of Oloudah Equiano (1789) and Ayuba Suleiman Diallo (1733). It also makes good use of a few traveler's accounts (e.g. John Brickell [1733]) and a number of diaries by North Carolina slave owners such as that of James Auld (1765-1770).

Overall the study is interesting, insightful, and necessary for a full understanding of slavery in colonial North Carolina as well as more broadly in the British-American empire. However, the interpretations are not new and the writing is somewhat dense. The authors draw deeply on Jeffrey Crow's two earlier books on slavery in North Carolina, and Donna Spindel's and Alan Watson's work on crime. Although their interpretation of the role of fear in maintaining slavery fits closely with Phillip Schwartz's earlier study of slave courts in Virginia, the authors do not cite him. The origins of this book as a series of articles are

unfortunately clear. While each chapter stands alone, the reader is also confronted with some repetitive discussion of cases and data.

Holly Brewer

North Carolina State University

State Troops and Volunteers: A Photographic Record of North Carolina's Civil War Soldiers. By Greg Mast. (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1995. Frontispiece, foreword, preface, acknowledgments, short titles of cited sources, illustrations, appendixes, index. Pp. xvi, 381. $50.00 plus $4.00 postage. Order from Historical Publications Section, 109 E. Jones St., Raleigh, NC 27601-2807.)

What makes the Civil War a mainstay of historic interest? One very strong reason is that it was the first military conflict in American history that provided a methodical photographic record of the war's events and its participants. Today, literally thousands of surviving tintypes, ambrotypes, and albumen photographs lend a very personal sense to the Civil War, enabling the buff or scholar to experience a profound emotional response each time they gaze into the faces of the soldiers who took up arms in that bloody period of American history.

State Troops and Volunteers: A Photograph Record of North Carolina's Civil War Soldiers is an amazing compilation of images of soldiers from the Tar Heel State. Author Greg Mast has tenaciously identified over thirteen hundred photographs of North Carolina soldiers who served in the army of the Confederate States as well as a number who served in the Union army. In the first book of a proposed two-volume set, he presents more than six hundred images of soldiers in uniform. Though the photographs are the main thrust of the work, Mast has arranged the collection around five chapters in which he discusses both the early photographic history of North Carolina as well as a brief history of the state's involvement in the first two years of the Civil War. The text complements the author's use of images as primary sources. Mast draws on countless published accounts, diaries, and collections of letters to restore personalities to the faces captured in each photograph. Biographical information as well as a commentary on the equipment and uniforms depicted in each of the photographs is found at the end of every chapter.

For years, photo-historians and Civil War scholars maintained that the photographic record of Southern participation in the war paled in comparison with that of Northern states. Having contacted hundreds of descendants, museums, and private collectors, Mast has successfully dispelled that myth by presenting a fascinating group of portraits of men and women who volunteered for a cause. These photographic pictures of North Carolina soldiers speak for themselves, and each one is truly worth the cliché of a "thousand words."

John Adams-Graf

Neville Public Museum of Brown County, Wisconsin

Gastonia, 1929: The Story of the Loray Mill Strike. By John A. Salmond. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Preface, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 226. $24.95.)

Historical writing on the wave of strikes that swept through the Piedmont in 1929 has enjoyed a much-deserved resurgence in the last decade. The subject of this book, the Loray Mill strike, is possibly the best known of these strikes. Occurring at one of the nation's largest

textile mills, the Communist-led strike attracted the attention of the international press. Southern labor histories typically relegate the event to a chapter or less; therefore, a comprehensive and cogent rendering of the events surrounding this vital moment in southern history was long overdue. John Salmond's book fills this niche, providing readers with a detailed yet lucid account of the tangled web that was Gastonia in 1929.

The Loray Mill strike of 1929 began as a local reaction to a series of Draconian cost-cutting measures (generally known as the "stretch out") enacted by management. Fred Beal and others representing the Communist-sponsored National Textile Workers Union (NTWU) chose Loray as their great southern experiment, leading the workers in a strike for improved working conditions and recognition of the NTWU local. In the process, the town police chief, Orville Aderholt, was fatally wounded. Three months later the strikers' balladeer, Ella May Wiggins (a single, white mother residing in a black neighborhood), was shot to death. The strike and the union were quickly quashed. Sixteen strikers and organizers were charged with murder in connection with Aderholt's death, but the Wiggins case was not brought to trial until Gov. O. Max Gardner intervened.

Salmond details the tragicomic nature of the northern-based Communists' misplaced efforts at interjecting politics and race into the strike, thus revealing their fundamental misunderstanding of the character of the movement. The relatively apolitical southern workers were enigmatic to the Communist organizers. Racial equality, a priority to the strike leaders, was offensive to Loray workers. A northern black, slated to address the striking workers, had to be smuggled out of town in the rumble seat of a Ford for his own safety. Women played prominent and crucial roles in the strike as organizers, strikers, and reporters. Class issues, however, remained all-important as northern owners and local management repeatedly triumphed over labor.

Salmond, based in Australia, documents his extensive and varied sources in a thoughtful manner and provides readers with a brief essay on the sources. His bibliography and notes demonstrate the difficult nature of telling this complex story in a thorough, readable way, which John Salmond superbly accomplishes in an engrossing narrative of the post–World War I industrial South.

Jackson C. Bebber

University of North Carolina at Asheville

Cornerstones of Georgia History: Documents That Formed the State. Edited by Thomas A. Scott. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995. Preface, acknowledgments, appendix, index. Pp. xiii, 265. $15.00, paper; $30.00, cloth.)

Thomas A. Scott's *Cornerstones of Georgia History* is a valuable addition to a number of recently published documentary studies of Georgia. Despite the title, the editor has not attempted to select the most critical documents that formed the state. The colonial charter is barely mentioned, and the Ordinance of Secession is not included in the chapter on Georgia's decision to leave the Union. Instead, the author has assembled fifty-nine documents relating to either chronological periods, controversial issues, or specific events in Georgia's history and clustered them around eighteen chapters ranging from the Spanish era to the recent battle over the location of a hazardous waste facility in Taylor County.

The body of documents grew out of the editor's fifteen-year experience teaching Georgia history at Kennesaw College. According to Scott, documents were selected that students

could "enjoy, understand, and remember." The book will be of greatest value to those who teach Georgia history in the state's colleges and universities. Anticipating this use, the editor provides, in the appendix, a number of questions that could be used to generate class discussion.

The strongest chapters in the book are those that deal with issues or events. The chapter on Leo Frank is especially well done. Scott's explanatory introduction to the famous case succinctly summarizes the events that led to the lynching of Frank by an outraged Georgia mob and prepares the reader for the documents to follow. The editor presents Solicitor General Hugh Dorsey's closing arguments to the jury, the appeal of Frank's attorneys to the U.S. District Court, an article by Tom Watson, and the 1986 action of the Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles granting Frank a pardon posthumously. Less successful are the chapters that deal with broader periods of Georgia history. In a chapter covering the era between the end of Reconstruction and the turn of the century, the Georgia populist movement receives little attention. Despite these minor problems, teachers, students, and scholars of Georgia history will find the work easy to understand, balanced in the selection of documents, carefully edited, and a useful ally in studying the history and people of the state.

Fred W. Brogdon

Georgia Southern University

Rivers of History: Life on the Coosa, Tallapoosa, Cahaba, and Alabama. By Harvey H. Jackson III. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995. Illustrations, preface, introduction, notes, bibliographical essay, index. Pp. xiii, 300. $29.95, paper.)

How does one *do* a history of a river, and who would care enough about the subject to read it? In this evocative book, Harvey H. Jackson III has shown how it is done and why one should care. While others have explored Alabama's past using economic, social, or political themes, Jackson weaves the major events and personalities of central Alabama's history around the state's largest river system. His skillfully written narrative sets a high standard for the rest of the series. It reaffirms Jackson's thorough scholarship and reflects his lifelong affection for and intimate knowledge of Alabama's waterways.

The theme of *Rivers of History* is simple: like its past, Alabama's future lies with its rivers—rivers that have physically, culturally, and economically shaped the central region of the state. Jackson moves his story from the Indian civilizations, which settled near the rivers and gave them their mellifluous names, to the 1980s when environmental and economic interests surrounding the rivers often clashed. The debate over using the rivers more as economic than natural resources began early in the state's history and continues today, unresolved.

In the book, the Coosa, Tallapoosa, Cahaba, and Alabama Rivers become active agents in the major events of Alabama's history. During the Civil War, river towns held the state's secession vote (Montgomery), developed war matériel (Selma), provided prisons for captured soldiers (Cahaba), and were the sites of battles. Appreciated during the antebellum period as channels for commerce, Alabama's streams and tributaries gained appreciation in the twentieth century for their ability to generate electric power and thus recruit industry.

Jackson makes judicious use of oral histories and materials gathered by amateur historians as well as appropriate primary and secondary sources. His absorbing bibliographic essay

provides a useful tool for professional and amateur historians alike. Photographs complement the text throughout, and excerpts from poetry, newspaper articles, and court cases introduce each chapter in a stylish and entertaining way.

The author shows a fine aptitude for capturing the southerner's language and manner as he relates stories of antebellum riverboat captains or, in a later era, of industry captains who raised capital, built dams, and changed rivers into "elongated lakes." The work is less successful when it seeks to add a river twist to the retelling of old, familiar stories.

While not a criticism, one wishes that the book's title was less staid and "scholarly." Mark Twain might have more accurately and appealingly named it *Life on the Rivers*. As the title now stands, many who would enjoy this excellent work may avoid it, and that would be a shame. Jackson has combined solid history and great humor to tell a compelling story.

Margaret E. Armbrester

University of Alabama at Birmingham

From Demagogue to Dixiecrat: Horace Wilkinson and the Politics of Race. By Glenn Feldman. (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1995. Preface, introduction, appendix, notes, bibliography, index, about the author. Pp. xviii, 311. $32.50, paper; $49.00, cloth.)

Horace Wilkinson was among a select group of politicians who remained influential in Alabama's public life from the Progressive Era, through the Dixiecrat movement, and into the early stirring of the Civil Rights movement in the mid-1950s. Wilkinson made a name for himself by helping Gov. Thomas E. Kilby combat extralegal violence in Alabama after World War I. As an assistant attorney general, Wilkinson pursued vigorously (though ultimately unsuccessfully) a group of Alabama National Guardsmen accused of lynching a white United Mine Workers organizer during the 1921 coal strike. Wilkinson and Kilby skillfully diminished Alabama's reputation as the nation's lynching capital and undercut the movement for national antilynching legislation.

Horace Wilkinson thus established a reputation as something of a "progressive" during the early post–World War I years. As the Ku Klux Klan rose to power in Alabama later in the 1920s, Wilkinson "quickly switched sides" and turned his "prodigious oratorical and writing skills" to "the cause of demagoguery." Feldman's title for the chapter on the 1920s captures the author's perspective on Wilkinson: "Political Expedience and the Ku Klux Klan." During the 1930s Wilkinson continued to use the race issue successfully to torment the "Big Mules" in state politics. He constructed a durable political machine by combining racist appeals with tangible rewards for Birmingham's working class. Wilkinson and his machine developed a form of "urban liberalism" that led at the same time to both more jobs for workers in Birmingham and greater racial tensions.

The Wilkinson machine ultimately suffered defeat at the hands of "good government" reformers (sponsored by the "Big Mules"). The "Boss" turned to race again and "was born again in the fire of the States' Rights movement." After the defeat of the Dixiecrat movement, Wilkinson "turned to the role of private tribune to save southern civilization." Exhibiting a Tom Watsonesque level of vitriol, the old boss descended into a morass of evermore extreme diatribes on "religion, sex, communism, and paranoia."

Feldman's book is well researched and makes a reasonable argument. There may be other reasonable interpretations as well. It might make as much sense, for example, to argue that Wilkinson tried to represent the interests of working-class Alabamians but was stymied by

the race issue. Certainly Wilkinson was a racist; but, as Feldman himself implies, for liberal and labor forces, the boss's machine was much preferable to the tender mercies of the "Big Mules." Feldman's style is perhaps overly judgmental; one need not be constantly reminded of how bad a person Wilkinson was because of his racism. Nevertheless, the book is a solid contribution to the growing body of literature on politics and power in Alabama, and it reminds one of the complexities of race, labor, and culture in the American South.

Randall L. Patton

Kennesaw State College

The Civil War Diary of Clara Solomon: Growing Up in New Orleans, 1861-1862. Edited, with an introduction, by Elliott Ashkenazi. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, afterword, index. Pp. xiv, 458. $34.95.)

Clara Solomon's diary covers a very short span of time in New Orleans's Civil War history. Starting June 15, 1861, and ending July 11, 1862, the volume provides more than four hundred pages of detail about a sixteen-year-old schoolgirl's life and her opinions of the people and events affecting her. There are brief descriptions of Civil War battles and leaders (usually praising Louisiana's officers and troops), but there are much longer discussions of friends, feminine beauty, excursions, the rigors of school, and the daily routine of the Solomon family.

The most notable feature of the entries derives from the fact that Clara's family was Jewish. The thorough descriptions of her social and familial connections to the Shepardic Jewish community of New Orleans and that community's frequent and convivial interactions with Christians offer unique insights into worship practices and the depth to which this Jewish community identified itself with the Confederacy. The sheer amount of detail, however, also means that much of the diary is a repetition about what was eaten at daily meals, what the Solomon sisters wore, what their friends in school did, and so on. Although useful in learning about social etiquette in the city or about the circumscribed lives the women endured, such detail adds many dense pages of text.

Judging by her vocabulary and literary allusions, Clara Solomon apparently received a good education in the public schools and through her reading. Her parents, who had immigrated to New Orleans from South Carolina, were part of a prosperous merchant class. By 1862 the household consisted of both parents, six daughters, two slaves, and an Irish servant girl. The Solomons' friends were merchants or Jewish professionals who shared mutual interests and education. In 1861 Clara's father, Solomon Solomon, left New Orleans for Virginia to serve as a sutler to Southern troops. Clara's diary relates the difficulties a family of women faced as the war progressed and they were cut off from their beloved father. Clara's anguish over the city's occupation is only equaled by her unhappiness over the prolonged separation from her father. She commented shortly after the Federal occupation, "We did not know what to do, how to act, no one came up to us, alone, alone we were."

Unhappily for the integrity of the entries, the editor chose to make silent editorial corrections to the text, which makes it difficult to judge how much is Clara's work and how much is his. He explains that he "had . . . to face the question of how to treat errors in the manuscript. Many of these occurred from instances in which Clara wrote words faster or slower than they appeared in her head. . . . Others were routine spelling errors. In both these cases I have changed the text without showing the corrections. . . ." This decision runs

against established documentary editing guidelines. Erratic footnotes, such as the reference to the Solomons' eating shrimp, seem to reflect editorial opinion as well as providing information. The editor notes disapprovingly: "Observant Jews will not eat shrimp, and the Solomons did. They also rode buses and trolleys and handled money on the Sabbath, activities which were and are forbidden to observant Jews."

The Civil War Diary of Clara Solomon provides a wealth of information on the activities and culture of Civil War New Orleans and on a segment of its Jewish community. The entries also offer a fascinating insight into the shape and texture of female friendship in that antebellum southern city.

Terrell Armistead Crow

North Carolina State University

The Capture of New Orleans, 1862. By Chester G. Hearn. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. Introduction. illustrations, maps, epilogue, appendix, bibliography, index. Pp. 292. $26.95.)

"To understand the fall of New Orleans requires a study of command," declares retired manufacturing executive Chester G. Hearn. His book opens with a portrait of the bustling city on the eve of the Civil War, then covers the secession of Louisiana, the building of the city's defenses, the organization of the opposing commands, the naval and military operations, and the surrender of the city.

Hearn's thesis is that "the decisions of Jefferson Davis, Stephen R. Mallory, and three different Confederate secretaries of war were as much to blame for the fall of New Orleans as Davy Farragut's warships." In defending the city, there was little cooperation between the Confederate and the Louisiana state governments or between the land and naval forces. Even command of the Southern naval forces was divided. Mallory's catalog of errors included putting inexperienced contractors in charge of building the ironclads *Louisiana* and *Mississippi*, replacing a good naval commander with a poor one, sending a substantial portion of the naval forces north in the belief that the threat to the city would come from upriver, and spending his limited funds on ill-conceived projects. The highly touted *Louisiana* and *Mississippi*, for example, "made not an iota of difference when the time came for the defense of New Orleans, but both robbed the area of resources needed to build, refit, and arm gunboats for the security of the river." Hearn argues that even if the ironclads had been completed in time, they could not have carried out their mission because their weak engines probably would have been unable to stem the current of the Mississippi River.

The Capture of New Orleans, based on the official published navy and army records, provides little new information or fresh insights. In fact, almost all of its analyses and interpretations also appear in Charles L. Dufour's *The Night the War was Lost* (1960), which Hearn cites, and in William N. Still's *Iron Afloat* (1971), which is not cited. Curiously, Hearn's organization resembles that of Dufour, as reflected in their tables of contents.

Originality aside, Hearn is a marvelous writer. His narrative flows smoothly, and his personality sketches reveal the humanity of his characters: Farragut swears when he finds himself in a pinch, Porter and Butler desperately seek glory and power, and Mallory is a tragic figure.

In sum, Hearn has little to offer scholars other than a good read, but his lively prose and knack for spinning a good yarn will enthrall popular readers.

Robert J. Schneller Jr.

Naval Historical Center, Washington, D.C.

Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915-1972. By Adam Fairclough. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995. Preface, acknowledgments, abbreviations, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xxix, 610. $34.95.)

Billed as the first history of the Civil Rights movement in Louisiana and the most comprehensive and detailed study to date of the movement at the state level, Briton Adam Fairclough's *Race and Democracy* is a landmark work on the Civil Rights movement that studies "the contours of grassroots activism" to gain a much clearer picture of the struggle for racial justice. In this pivotal work Fairclough argues that historians and the media did not appreciate "the full variety, depth, and durability of black protest" and "neglected the crucial role of the NAACP." Fairclough reviews the actions of the black attorney Pierre Tureaud as well as those of many unheralded men and women involved in the civil rights struggle in Louisiana.

The work covers the period from the founding of the New Orleans branch of the NAACP to the governorship of Edwin Edwards, while providing "a participant level view of the movement" that "traces the social networks that sustained black activism." Fairclough's central thesis maintains that "black protest between the late 1930s and the mid-1950s constituted more than a mere prelude to the drama proper: it was the first act of a two-act play." Therefore, "the civil rights movement needs to be placed within the context of a struggle that stretched over three full decades." Fairclough attempts an accurate history of the civil rights struggle that recognizes the differences between the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and the NAACP and analyzes the complex relationship between the two. He seeks at least a reassessment of the NAACP to show that the struggle in Louisiana was a largely secular affair and to demonstrate the centrality of women to the movement. Stating that the activists were atypical, Fairclough sees local history as a constructive analytical tool for his exercise in comparative history—a history of the movement in Louisiana, which he concludes proved typical of how the civil rights struggle unfolded in the South. Extremely detailed, this work deserves serious consideration by all southern history scholars.

Lee E. Williams II

University of Alabama in Huntsville

Caste and Class: The Black Experience in Arkansas, 1880-1920. By Fon Louise Gordon. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995. Preface, illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 185. $35.00.)

From the end of the Civil War until World War I, Arkansas was considered a land of opportunity for southern whites and blacks alike. Although the southern economy was often stagnant during those years, Arkansas was a boom state. The arrival of the railroads, the temporary taming of the Mississippi River, and drainage of the Delta opened an empty wilderness to settlement. As Fon Louise Gordon points out, even blacks as far away as North Carolina looked to Arkansas as a place where they could better their condition.

Unfortunately, those good days were on the decline by the 1890s. Organized and institutionalized racism drove blacks out of politics and minimized economic opportunity. Earlier flirtations with Oklahoma and Liberia were replaced by Chicago and other points north during and after World War I.

Although the general outline of these events is well known, state studies continue to reveal complexity and diversity. One important element warranting close attention is the degree to which the caste into which all blacks were placed has tended to obscure the obvious class distinctions that arose and became well established by 1890. Successful black farmers like Scott Bond (who was so white he "passed" in the North), business entrepreneurs like Wiley Jones of Pine Bluff, schoolteachers like William Grant Still's mother, lawyers, doctors, the clergy, and even railroad workers actually benefited in various ways from the separation so harshly imposed by the ruling white regime. Tensions between the accommodationism of these middle-class people and the resistance of New Negro agriculturalists form the heart of the book.

It is a misfortune that so few papers, letters, or diaries exist for either group. Even most issues of black newspapers have disappeared. As a result, there are people about whom more ought to be known. Rev. Elias Camp Morris, a longtime president of the National Baptists and whom Gordon considers a conservative, appears less accommodating in his published sermons than in some of his other public utterances.

Nevertheless, *Caste and Class* adds to the understanding of the complexity of the color line; its few but well-chosen photographs show a well-founded sense of pride and accomplishment that history failed to reward.

Michael B. Dougan

Arkansas State University

Country People in the New South: Tennessee's Upper Cumberland. By Jeanette Keith. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Acknowledgments, illustrations, tables, figures, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 293. $18.95, paper; $45.00, cloth.)

Jeanette Keith's book joins the steadily growing number of studies that examine the impact of industrialization on the rural South, the ramifications and costs of economic change, and the extended battles over control of local institutions. What distinguishes her work is a certain poignancy. A native of the Upper Cumberland region of Tennessee, Keith sympathizes with its residents' devotion to "traditionalism," a set of values grounded in small, family-sustaining farms. Yet, she also readily points out that in resisting modernity, and specifically "rural progressivism," the country people of her home county and those around it "inadvertently chose poverty." This culturally based decision made at the turn of the twentieth century has resonated for three generations.

Familism was the dominant motif in the Upper Cumberland in the 1890s. Located on the periphery of the nation's economy, families worked on and off the farm to ensure their survival and independence. Communities often consisted of collections of extended patriarchal families. Protestant congregations reinforced traditional family structures; and, county governments, reflecting familial loyalties, acted with "Jeffersonian restraint."

The arrival of the railroad brought extractive coal and timber industries, accelerated economic activity more closely tied to cash, and the impetus for progressive reform. Keith asserts that Upper Cumberland residents found ways to patch and fit these changes, quiltlike,

into older ways of life. Battles in the region between urban, nationally oriented progressivism and rural, localistic sentiments ended in a kind of draw, with new institutions and changes uneasily imposed upon an indifferent, even hostile, public. World War I confronted the Upper Cumberland with the demands of the modern state; and the 1920s brought agricultural depression, the loss of local control over transportation and education, demands by women for a "new dispensation" in gender relations, and challenges to parental authority. These cultural attacks generated a religious revival among area farm families, who supported Tennessee's "Monkey Law" as a bulwark against decades of reform. Traditionalists won the contest for regional cultural hegemony, Keith concludes, but poverty and out-migration would be the price exacted by ingrained familism.

Other accounts of the rural South during the same period suggest a more nuanced struggle between tradition and modernity. Keith nonetheless underscores the importance of exploring the experiences of those most affected by the transition.

John M. Glen

Ball State University

Taking Up Serpents: Snake Handlers of Eastern Kentucky. By David L. Kimbrough. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xvi, 232. $14.95, paper; $34.95, cloth.)

David Kimbrough, an independent researcher with a Ph.D. in history, brings to his fascinating study of eastern Kentucky's Holiness serpent handlers both the analytical perspective of the historian and the passion of the activist-folklorist involved in the community of people he studies. Consequently his book brings together two qualities not often found in the same historical work. It also provides a vivid, firsthand description of the attitudes, beliefs, and practices of this controversial group, based on the author's extraordinary access to their homes and churches. Kimbrough's narrative, rich in detail and documented with photographs, is derived from extensive interviews, an exhaustive study of published accounts, and the author's participation in over three hundred services. He states that he participated in services "as far as my personal belief would let me," which included handling poisonous snakes on numerous occasions. At the same time, he presents a scholarly analysis of the origins, evolution, and value system of this controversial group of Christians.

Kimbrough's historical treatment traces the development of Holiness snake handling churches from the east Tennessee ministry of George Hensley in 1910 to their appearance in eastern Kentucky in the early 1930s and recounts their subsequent trials and tribulations to the present. This alone is an intriguing story, but Kimbrough draws upon recent scholarship in Appalachian studies to explain the movement's roots in the social order and fundamentalist belief of early Appalachian settlers and the impact of industrialization and social change on their community and beliefs following the Civil War. In the face of uncontrolled change, he argues, many mountain people sustained and reasserted an emotional folk religion that defended personal and community identities from the humiliation of finding themselves poor and hillbilly. Kimbrough argues for the dignity and sincerity of this much maligned group whose religious beliefs and practices, he maintains, are consistent with their early heritage and whose lives outside their church are appropriate to the communities in which they live.

The value of this study goes beyond its treatment of Kentucky's serpent handling believers. It should be read for its controversial approach to fieldwork and the valuable insights into the Appalachian past that it offers.

Curtis W. Wood

Western Carolina University

William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians. Edited and annotated by Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathryn E. Holland Braund. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. Endpapers, illustrations, introduction, preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xvi, 341. $46.50.)

Few sources are more valuable for the study of the southeastern Indians than the writings of William Bartram. Under the patronage of Dr. John Fothergill, a London physician, Bartram traveled throughout the Southeast in the 1770s collecting plant samples, sketching the native flora and fauna, and recording his observations of the Creek, Cherokee, and Seminole Indians. Previous treatments of Bartram's work, however, have focused on his career as a naturalist and neglected his importance as an ethnographer.

In this volume, Gregory A. Waselkov, an archaeologist, and Kathryn E. Holland Braund, an ethnohistorian, focus on Bartram's early contributions to ethnography and on the value of his work to ethnohistorians. Of the three selections by Bartram, *Travels through North & South Carolina* . . . is by far the most famous, and it appears here in excerpted form. Other texts, however, are presented in their entirety. "Observations on Creek and Cherokee Indians" provides a wealth of information on religion, politics, and gender roles beyond what was published in *Travels*. Lastly, a complete version of the obscure manuscript "Some Hints & Observations, concerning the civilization, of the Indians, or Aborigines of America" remarks on the prospects of "civilizing" the southeastern Indians, an idea that Henry Knox, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson implemented as the cornerstone of early federal Indian policy. Lavish illustrations, copious annotations, detailed accounts of each work's provenance, and an informative introduction further enhance the text and mark the volume as an important contribution to southeastern ethnohistory.

William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians is essential reading for anyone interested in the Native American Southeast, for few other writers of the eighteenth century can rival Bartram's detailed and relatively objective observations of the Cherokee, Creeks, and Seminoles. As a primary source, the book is an invaluable collection of information; as a scholarly work, it is unparalleled in its informed presentation and critical review of Bartram's writings. Long recognized as one of the great American naturalists, William Bartram may now be acknowledged as one of the first American ethnographers.

James Taylor Carson

University of Kentucky

The Papers of General Nathanael Greene. Vol. 8: *30 March-10 July 1781*. Edited by Dennis M. Conrad. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Rhode Island Historical Society, 1995. Endpapers, frontispiece, introduction, acknowledgments, editorial method, glossary of military terms, Greene chronology, index. Pp. xliii, 580. $70.00.)

Volume 7 of Gen. Nathanael Greene's papers ended after the climactic event of his North Carolina campaign—the Battle of Guilford Court House; volume 8 continues the story as

Greene and Lord Charles Cornwallis tried to exploit that engagement. Greene's personal assessment pointed to the dilemma: "They [British] have met with a defeat in a victory." Through 843 chronologically organized letters and orders, the editors allow Greene and other key players in the Southern Department to lead researchers through the American campaign in South Carolina as Greene challenged British control there and in Georgia during the spring and early summer of 1781.

Insights abound for historians whose interests range from the political-strategic to the operational to the logistical. Letters to the state governors and the Continental Congress highlight the difficulties of raising Continentals and militiamen, as well as the nature of civil-military relations to a general who argued that the "civil power must accommodate itself to the emergencys of War. . . ." Early in the volume Greene explained the campaign strategy for moving into South Carolina: "This will oblige the Enemy to give up their prospects in this State, or their posts in South Carolina. . . . " While Cornwallis did leave North Carolina, his destination was Virginia, not South Carolina; and Greene's war of posts proved difficult, yet strategically decisive. Furthermore, his army was generally "Destitute of Provisions" and ammunition, with transportation always lacking.

The editors have accurately transcribed and skillfully woven together significant, complete letters and abstracts of documents, promising a complete microfilm or electronic edition later. The introduction and chronology tell the overall story from Greene's movement to Camden to the British evacuation of Ninety-Six, and the annotations following each entry provide relevant signposts. Inclusion in the index of the positions and ranks of all officers with whom Greene corresponded would enhance the value of future volumes to students and general readers. The Rhode Island Historical Society is to be commended for bringing the exploits of its state hero to a wider audience in this outstanding volume.

James M. Johnson

United States Military Academy

The Papers of George Washington. Confederation Series. Vol. 4: *April 1786-January 1787.* Edited by W. W. Abbot and Dorothy Twohig. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995. Editorial apparatus, index. Pp. xxv, 585. $47.50.)

Volume 4 of the *Confederation Series* spans ten months in Washington's third year of retirement from command of the Continental Army. While he bred animals, oversaw his investments in the Potomac Company, collected delinquent debts, worried over his financial affairs, experimented with new farming techniques, and mourned the increasingly frequent deaths of his former comrades in arms, Washington eagerly kept abreast of local, state, and national events. Foreshadowing his well-known denunciation of the Democratic societies in 1794, Washington condemned the creation by his nephew, Bushrod Washington, of the Patriot Society, a self-appointed group of public-minded Virginians, as "a kind of emperium emperio" that "as often clog, as facilitate public measures." To his French correspondents, Washington put on a brave front, minimizing the nation's difficulties and emphasizing its economic progress and recovery from war. To domestic correspondents, Washington was more candid, despairing of his countrymen's lack of virtue, British insults to American sovereignty, and the general decline in commerce, all of which he blamed on the weakness of the national government.

A good number of the documents reproduced in this well-edited volume, including an extended account by Benjamin Lincoln, describe the origins and development of Shays's Rebellion. Washington was astounded by the uprising of western Massachusetts farmers, which he suspected had been fomented by the British, and believed that the success of the Revolution and America's experiment of self-government was at stake. Should the rioters prevail, he wrote, it would be "a triumph for the advocates of despotism to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal & falacious." The shock of Shays's Rebellion reinforced Washington's often repeated belief in "the necessaty of Granting to Congress more ample and extensive powers." Nevertheless, he hesitated to participate when nominated as a member of Virginia's delegation to revise the Articles of Confederation in Philadelphia. Anticipating by two hundred years another reticent retired general, Washington initially declined Madison's urgings and, as volume 4 comes to an end, repeatedly sought advice from his many correspondents on whether he should re-enter the public realm.

E. Wayne Carp

Pacific Lutheran University

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Vol. 26: *11 May to 31 August 1793.* Edited by John Catanzariti. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995. Guide to editorial apparatus, illustrations, Jefferson chronology, index. Pp. xliii, 875. $75.00.)

On July 31, 1793, Thomas Jefferson informed President Washington that he wished to resign from the administration by the end of September. The secretary of state had been considering this step for some time, and among the more interesting documents in volume 26 are Jefferson's retirement plans to introduce an ambitious scheme of crop rotation and livestock rearing on five hundred acres of his property around Monticello. Jefferson read widely and consulted intensively on this matter—principally in the writings of Sir John Sinclair and with George Logan, James Madison, Thomas Mann Randolph, and George Washington—for he freely admitted that he was a "tyro" in the business and unfamiliar with the risks and requirements of mixed farming on the scale he was contemplating.

The contents of this volume make it very clear why Jefferson wished to quit political life. His seemingly matter-of-fact summaries and memoranda of cabinet meetings barely conceal his intense discomfort at having to endure Alexander Hamilton's "3/4 of an hour jury speeches" to the president as the two leading cabinet members jostled to shape administration policy. Jefferson increasingly felt that this was a losing battle as Hamilton could always count on the support of Henry Knox—whom Jefferson on one occasion denounced as a "fool"—while the secretary of state could never rely on Attorney General Edmund Randolph. Indeed, Jefferson became so irritated at Randolph's efforts to split the differences on all the issues in contention that he almost lost sight of the fact that his fellow Virginian possessed some qualities that he actually valued. The documents also record a rare moment of humor in the cabinet consultations: Washington chided Jefferson for using the royal "we" by referring to the United States as "our republic" in a communication intended for the French government. The president tartly observed that unlike some who professed to be worried on this score, *he* certainly had no intention of adopting monarchical forms. Jefferson, it would seem, failed to appreciate the irony of the situation.

If there was a single issue that made such matters intolerable for Jefferson, it was the behavior of Edmond Charles Genet, the Girondin minister of France to the United States. The secretary of state's ordeal in coping with this wayward diplomat is an often told tale, and the documents in the volume do not radically alter the accounts provided by Jefferson's leading biographers or by Harry Ammon in his essay on the Genet mission. All scholars will be pleased, however, to have gathered in one place the texts of nearly eighty letters Genet wrote to the secretary of state between May and August of 1793, the more so as the recipient's copy of only two of these letters can now be located in the State Department records. With the totality of the correspondence now readily available, readers, at least those able to read French, will be fully exposed for the first time to the cumulative impact of Genet's windy rhetoric and volatile personality; and they will probably assent easily enough to Jefferson's conclusion that the minister was so "incorrigible" that he left Republican supporters of France's cause with little choice but to abandon him in order to avoid being destroyed in the fiasco that his mission became.

As the editors lay out the documents of the Genet affair with their customary painstaking attention to detail, some interesting insights emerge in the otherwise familiar story. One is the extent to which Genet simply did not understand the significance of the changes that the 1787 Federal Constitution had wrought in the conduct of American public affairs. The minister consistently believed that the executive branch was merely an agent of the popular will as embodied in Congress, which was not in session, and that it was therefore only a matter of time before the administration brought its conduct into line with his expectations. Even after Jefferson patiently explained the constitutional realities to him, Genet still could not grasp them; he made the secretary of state "a bow, and said that indeed he would not make [him] compliments on such a constitution, expressed the utmost astonishment at it, and seemed never before to have had such an idea."

It is also evident that the administration's reluctance to respond positively to Genet's diplomacy arose from broader concerns than any distaste that Hamilton and Washington might have felt for the Girondins or the excesses of their minister. By the summer of 1793, the cabinet, Jefferson included, had become sufficiently concerned about the potential for future instability in France that it did not rule out the possibility of a restoration of the monarchy there. In that event, any commitments made to the Girondin regime would prove to be a serious liability. Such a sentiment could hardly be avowed to Genet, of course, nor be made public in any way, but it was nonetheless real.

Another revealing episode is Jefferson's dealings with the French botanist and explorer André Michaux. The editors demonstrate that when Jefferson provided, at Genet's request, a carefully crafted and predated letter of introduction for the scientist to the governor of Kentucky in early July 1793, he was almost certainly aware that Michaux might participate in French schemes to liberate Louisiana from Spanish rule. Thus Jefferson's interest in scientific discovery was reinforced by his belief that Spanish officials in Louisiana were trying to involve the United States in a war with the southern Indians. His anger at Spain, therefore, was understandable enough; but, as the editors point out, there is no evidence that Jefferson at this time disclosed to the president or to the cabinet his unofficial knowledge of Genet's plotting. Nearly two months later, after protests from Spanish diplomatic agents in Philadelphia, Jefferson did inform Washington about France's intentions for Louisiana. His failure to do so earlier, however, might have proved embarrassing had any of Genet's plans been implemented to a greater extent than they were.

Although covering little more than three months in the life of its subject, volume 26 is essential for understanding not only Jefferson himself—his personality, his family, and his plantation—but also a critical episode in the history of American diplomacy and the evolution of cabinet government in the context of the emergence of the first party system. Three compact editorial notes illuminate particular details relating to the repayment of the French debt, the administration's attempt to consult the Supreme Court as an advisory body on problems of neutral rights, and the decision to request Genet's recall to France. All scholars of this period therefore will be indebted to the editors for the scrupulous accuracy with which they have presented the complexities of the documentary record relating to these significant events.

J. C. A. Stagg

University of Virginia

The Papers of William Thornton. Vol. 1: *1781-1802*. Edited by C. M. Harris. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995. Endpapers, preface, editorial method, introduction, illustrations, notes to illustrations, chronology, editorial note, index. Pp. lxxxiv, 614. $60.00.)

William Thornton is known primarily as the man who designed the original section of the United States Capitol and played a key role in the founding and planning of Washington, D.C. The first volume of *The Papers of William Thornton*, edited by C. M. Harris, reveals Thornton as an individual who possessed widely varying talents beyond the realm of architecture, as well as unwavering political and social views. Harris provides a detailed biographical sketch that places Thornton's papers in context. Extensive documentary and editorial notes further clarify individual entries.

The documents included in the volume, the first significant work devoted exclusively to Thornton, provide evidence that his architectural designs were deeply rooted in his own political philosophy. Thornton saw his buildings as symbols of the republican ideals that he so admired. As a commissioner of the Federal District between 1794 and 1802, Thornton took on the more practical matter of getting the capital city planned and built—not an easy task in view of the personality and funding problems associated with a new government.

Harris's compilation also displays lesser-known but important aspects of Thornton's life and work. Thornton corresponded with friends, family, antislavery associates, fellow scientists, and government officials. His letters reveal that he was an ambitious man who seemed to be on the cutting edge of everything he pursued and who was also endowed with genuine concern for human welfare. Born in the West Indies and educated in Great Britain, Thornton came to the United States in 1786 and became a citizen in 1788. Soon after his arrival, he abandoned his career as a physician and became involved in a myriad of activities consistent with his deepest convictions. He was vehemently opposed to slavery and actively worked to establish an independent settlement in Africa for free American and West Indian blacks. In addition, numerous documents confirm Thornton's significant involvement in the development of the first successful steamship and chronicle his campaign for a national system of public education, including a national university.

C. M. Harris conducted an extensive search for all extant documents and used logical criteria in selecting those that appear in the volume. The papers are arranged chronologically and date from Thornton's medical school years in Edinburgh through the end of his tenure as commissioner of the Federal District. Historians of architecture, Washington, D.C.,

and the early Republic will find the first volume of *The Papers of William Thornton* of particular interest.

Diane C. Barefoot

Appalachian State University

The Papers of John Marshall. Vol. 8: *Correspondence, Papers, and Selected Judicial Opinions, March 1814-December 1819.* Edited by Charles F. Hobson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., 1995. Frontispiece, illustrations, preface, acknowledgments, editorial policy and apparatus, Marshall chronology, appendixes, index. Pp. xxxvii, 421. $50.00.)

The years 1814 to 1819 were significant for Chief Justice John Marshall, the Supreme Court, and the nation; and the eighth volume of the Marshall papers chronicles Marshall's public and private life during this important period. The editor gives ample attention to the Court's opinions, including the leading decisions: *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee* (1816), *Sturgis v. Crowninshield* (1819), *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), and *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819). In addition, the editor provides much valuable information about Marshall's circuit cases, particularly admiralty and property litigation, which actually took more time than the Supreme Court work. Especially useful is the chief justice's extensive correspondence with associate justices Joseph Story and Bushrod Washington that shows Marshall as a remarkably capable lawyer who readily turned to colleagues for insights concerning less familiar technical points of law. Marshall's thorough-going defense of the holding and principles in *McCulloch* against the Richmond Junto's attack led by Spencer Roane is recounted in full with numerous editorial comments not available elsewhere. The inclusion of extensive family correspondence is most valuable and reveals, among other things, how agonizing for Marshall was his wife Polly's protracted illness. The editor has done a fine job throughout with notes and editorial material generally; publication by the University of North Carolina Press is exemplary.

Tony Freyer

University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa

The Jacksonian Promise: America, 1815-1840. By Daniel Feller. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. Series editor's foreword, preface, bibliographical essay, index. Pp. xiv, 227. $13.95, paper; $38.95, cloth.)

Daniel Feller begins his story of Jacksonian America with the Marquis de Lafayette's triumphant tour of the country on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of American independence (1824-1825). Almost thirty years ago, in *Unquiet Eagle: Memory and Desire in the Idea of American Freedom, 1815-1860*, Fred Somkin depicted Lafayette's visit as a journey through an anxious nation whose people, while forging ahead into a turbulent future, looked back with longing at the more stable and virtuous world of the Founding Fathers. A sense of anxiety and loss permeates most histories of Jacksonian America written since Somkin's *Unquiet Eagle*, especially those that examine the political and social impact of the market revolution. Feller challenges that interpretation, using Lafayette and the Jubilee as a jumping-off point in his exploration of what he argues was America's most fervently optimistic age. Discussions of internal improvements, banking, social reform,

utopianism, and political democratization can be found in any text on the period. But Feller offers a refreshing reconceptualization of the whole of Jacksonian America, one that will force scholars and teachers to rethink their assumptions.

Feller picks up the story where Gordon Wood, in *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*, left off. He portrays a society brimming with optimism and filled with an often chaotic multitude of voices and alternate visions of the future. Underlying that tangle, though, lay the essential unity of a common faith in the possibility of progress and perhaps even perfection. The rapid expansion of the market economy, fueled by internal improvements, banks, and changes in the laws of enterprise, provided the foundation for that optimism. Contemporaries were not blind, however, to the pitfalls of rapid economic change. The heirs of the Enlightenment, evangelical ministers, and labor advocates all bemoaned the inequities and sins of the age, but even those social critics remained convinced that America could be transformed by the right utopian experiment, or religious revival, or plan for the redistribution of land. But that unbridled reach toward the future faltered after 1840, Feller argues. The institutionalization of the second party system muted the diversity of voices and visions, while the shared sense of national progress began to fracture under the weight of intensifying sectional tension.

Daniel Dupre

University of North Carolina at Charlotte

More Generals in Gray. By Bruce S. Allardice. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. Preface, abbreviations, introduction, illustrations, appendix, bibliography. Pp. xv, 301. $29.95.)

The careers of most generals of the Confederate States Army are well known to historians of the Civil War. "However," writes Bruce S. Allardice, "a class of officers who performed the duties of a general of the southern armies, in either Confederate or state service, ha[s] been virtually lost to history because of a lack of evidence of their formal appointment to general's rank." In *More Generals in Gray*, Allardice does an excellent job of filling this void in the historiography of America's great sectional conflict.

In both the title and the dedication of his book, Allardice pays homage to Ezra Warner, whose *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* has served for years as a standard reference. The author of *More Generals in Gray* departs from the Warner model by investigating 137 heretofore obscure or unremembered Confederate generals who did not necessarily receive presidential appointments but who nonetheless enjoyed the title and contemporary recognition of general. He recounts each general's life in a biographical sketch, about half of which is devoted to the officer's war career and about half to his pre- and postwar years. The sketches follow a standard format for each subject: the exact dates and places of birth and death, names and occupations of parents, a picture of each general, and an "outline of his military record, including an evaluation of his claim to the rank of Confederate general." Each brief biography concludes with notes and a short compilation of pertinent references. Allardice found information on these 137 officers in "standard sources."

The author also includes an appendix listing other men whose claims to the title of general he located in "less reliable, less standard sources." Among that category were a number of state militia officers. Allardice describes or lists at least a dozen North Carolinians who, for one reason or another, were referred to as generals.

The incisive introduction of *More Generals in Gray* draws some overall conclusions about the more obscure Confederate military leaders, and its thorough bibliography contains both published and unpublished materials. The book has no index but nevertheless is a valuable resource for Civil War scholars and enthusiasts alike.

Joe A. Mobley

Division of Archives and History

Lee's Young Artillerist: William R. J. Pegram. By Peter S. Carmichael. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 209. $27.95.)

In this latest addition to the recent spate of biographies of second-rank officers of the Civil War, author Peter S. Carmichael has undertaken a formidable task. His chosen subject, Col. William R. J. Pegram, a young Confederate artillery officer of undeniable courage and zest for battle, played but a marginal role in many battles of the Army of Northern Virginia and certainly had no input in the strategic planning of Lee's campaigns. Furthermore, Pegram left behind only a small clutch of letters and apparently figured in the contemporary writings of just a handful of his fellows, providing a biographer precious little primary source material upon which to hang a meaningful life history. Carmichael labors diligently to craft a psychoanalytic appraisal of his subject, but the effort falls well short of the mark.

Willie Pegram descended from a proud Virginia planter family with a long tradition of civic and military service, tinged with tragedy. Both his grandfather and father were general officers in the state militia, the former serving with distinction in the War of 1812. His father, a prominent lawyer and financier, was killed in the explosion of a boiler aboard a steamboat in the Ohio River in 1844. Willie's older brother, John, graduated from West Point in the storied class of 1854, attained the rank of brigadier in the Army of Northern Virginia, and won the hand of Hetty Cary, the most pursued belle of the Confederacy. He was killed at Hatcher's Run eighteen days after his wedding.

Pegram was a student at the University of Virginia when the war began. He immediately returned to Richmond, where his mother had operated a boarding school for girls since her husband's tragic death, and enlisted in a local militia company. He soon joined a fledgling artillery battery as a drill instructor and was promptly elected second lieutenant. The following spring, despite his lack of battlefield experience, he was promoted to captain in command of the battery. Thereafter, promotions continued with astounding regularity, until he attained the rank of colonel in February 1865. From his first engagement at Mechanicsville, Pegram displayed remarkable courage under fire and an uncommon desire to post his guns where the fighting was the hottest. Throughout the next three years, he repeatedly distinguished himself in battle while virtually annihilating those under his command. The devout Pegram believed that he was being spared to continue his bloody work in the Lord's name, but his good fortune ran out a week before Appomattox. He was mortally wounded at Five Forks on April 1 and died the following day, less than two months after the death of his beloved brother John.

Carmichael carries the reader over the exhaustively traveled history of Lee's army with few fresh insights. The journey is uneven, disrupted by sudden leaps past familiar events occasioned by Pegram's absence or marginal involvement in a particular battle. The second day at Gettysburg, for example, is summed up in two brief paragraphs; Burnside's attack on

the Confederate left at Fredericksburg merits but a single sentence. Such elision of events peripheral to the subject matter is forgivable but occasionally leads the author to oversimplistic interpretations. For instance, he writes that Archer's brigade "suddenly . . . lurched forward" to seize the dominant artillery position of Hazel Grove during the battle of Chancellorsville, ignoring the fact that the brigades of Pender and Lane had been bloodily engaged for two hours before Archer's advance. The author's casual treatment of facts may irritate the serious reader. According to Carmichael, A. P. Hill's troops remained near Fredericksburg merely "as a decoy" while the bulk of the army marched northward after Chancellorsville; Union soldiers tunneled under the Confederate lines at Petersburg simply to "relieve the tedium" of trench warfare. Despite lavish illustrations and a helpful array of maps, Carmichael's narrow perspective and simplistic approach fail to adequately convey an understanding of the complicated battles in which Pegram participated. And sadly, in the end, the reader is left to wonder just who Willie Pegram really was.

Kenrick N. Simpson

Division of Archives and History

When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865. By Stephen V. Ash. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Preface, prologue, illustrations, epilogue, map appendix, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 309. $29.95.)

Most books about the Civil War focus on the clash of great armies. When a battle or campaign is over, the spotlight of history usually follows the armies to their next battle. Left behind in the shadows are Southern men, women, and children in the conquered areas who had to adjust to life under Union military occupation. Stephen V. Ash's new book is a look at life in the occupied zones, an often overlooked aspect of Civil War history. Ash paints a vivid portrait of Southern society and how it was affected by Union occupation. He points out that besides the dangers of the war, Southerners in and around the occupied regions faced "internal" violence caused by social conflict set off by the war. Newly freed slaves were threatened by violence from whites who intended to keep them from becoming truly free. Southern unionists on one hand faced reprisals from secessionists; on the other hand, they sometimes used the protecting cover of Union troops to conduct reprisals of their own. Bands of marauders, including civilian guerrillas from both sides, deserters, and outlaws terrorized some regions.

A particularly enlightening chapter outlines what Ash calls the "three worlds" of the occupied South, as the three varying degrees of Union control altered Southern life in different ways. First, there were the Union garrison towns, where the remaining secessionists were jostled by Union soldiers, jubilant freed slaves, and desperate refugees. Many Southerners in these towns never came to like the Union troops, although they did bring a measure of stability. Second, stretching beyond direct Union control but within reach of devastating raids was the "Confederate frontier," land that the Confederates nominally held but could not fully protect. Social and community ties there were badly frayed by the instability and poverty caused by frequent Union raids that destroyed homes, farms, crops, and livestock. Life was at its most difficult and dangerous in the third type of region, the "no-man's-land," areas just beyond Union lines where there was neither Confederate authority nor Union protection. Communities in such areas often disintegrated as the inhabitants abandoned them, driven out by Union raiders, civilian guerrillas, and outlaws.

When the Yankees Came portrays life as lived by many thousands of wartime Southerners. There is a great deal of material on living in the occupied South, although it is generally scattered, local, and anecdotal in nature. Ash's accomplishment lies in taking a mountain of unpublished manuscripts, wartime newspapers, and other published sources, often on a local level, and shaping it into a study that is inclusive of virtually the entire South. The book should appeal to anyone interested in Southern life during the Civil War. It provides a useful contrast with the many studies of life on the Confederate home front. Regional specialists may find some worthwhile material on their respective states. Eastern North Carolina is well represented. Ash has conducted a successful foray into an area of Civil War history that deserves much more study than it has received to date.

David A. Norris

Greenville, North Carolina

The Journals of Josiah Gorgas, 1857-1878. Edited by Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins. Foreword by Frank E. Vandiver. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995. Illustrations, acknowledgments, editorial policy, family genealogy, prologue, epilogue, biographical directory, bibliography, index. Pp. xxxix, 305. $39.95.)

Brigadier General Josiah Gorgas, a Pennsylvania native, West Point graduate, and captain in the pre–Civil War U.S. Army, married the daughter of a former governor of Alabama, adopted his wife's states' rights and proslavery principles, and served with great efficiency as chief of the Confederate Ordnance Department. As such, he worked and occasionally socialized with some of the Confederacy's most important civilian and military leaders, including President Jefferson Davis, Secretary of the Navy Stephen A. Mallory, Secretary of the Treasury Christopher G. Memminger, and Generals Braxton Bragg and Joseph E. Johnston. In postwar years he operated an unsuccessful ironworks in Bibb County, Alabama, was vice-chancellor of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, and then president of the University of Alabama.

In 1857, at the age of thirty-eight, Gorgas began keeping a journal in which he wrote brief, thoughtful, and articulate commentaries, sometimes on a daily basis but more often at intervals of several days or weeks, for the next twenty-one years. During the Civil War his attention focused on military operations and prospects, civilian and military morale and leadership, inflation and shortages, and the well-being of his extended family. During the pre- and postwar period he wrote about such diverse topics as local, national, and world events; his religious, social, and political views; family and business affairs; and the "humiliation[s]" of Reconstruction.

Well-read, practical, and energetic, Gorgas reveals himself as a deeply family-oriented man, refreshingly devoid of the ambition, egocentrism, and pettiness that characterized many Confederate leaders. Disappointingly, his journal contains almost nothing concerning his activities as an educator or the remarkable fete for which he is primarily remembered: the creation of an armaments industry for a Confederate nation that, in Gorgas's slightly exaggerated words, "[was] not making [at its inception] a gun, a pistol nor a sabre [*sic*]—[nor] a pound of powder—[and] no shot nor shell (except at the Tredegar Works). . . ." Although he offers considerably more detail concerning the failure of his iron milling venture, it is not as a chronicler but as an opinionated and often insightful if not always fair-minded observer that Gorgas is of greatest interest. For example, he categorizes D. H. Hill as "short

witted," General Arnold Elzey as "a brave man without brains," Bragg as "a little cracked," Memminger as "rude . . . dogmatical, narrowminded [*sic*] & slow," and Reconstruction as an endeavor by "northern fanatics . . . to convert the Southern States into a Jamaica."

Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins's transcription is more faithful to the original than the out-of-print version published by Frank E. Vandiver in 1947, and it is expanded beyond Vandiver's effort to include the pre- and postwar periods. Wiggins's editorial work adheres to the minimalistic standards currently ascendant and is very fine except for an inferior index and an occasional transcriptive or interpolative stumble: the Paraguayan-Argentinean river is the Paraná (not the Panama), and General William E. "Grumble" Jones was killed near New Hope, Virginia (not New Hope Church, Georgia). Vandiver's foreword, in which he recounts his discovery of the journals at the home of two of Gorgas's elderly but formidable daughters, is a model and a delight.

Weymouth T. Jordan Jr.

Division of Archives and History

Lincoln. By David Herbert Donald. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995. Frontispiece, preface, illustrations, sources and notes, map, index. Pp. 714. $35.00.)

Abraham Lincoln's life was one of epic proportions. Many biographers and historians have attempted to reveal that life and explain Lincoln's importance in American history. No one has done a better job of telling the Lincoln story than David Donald. One of the nation's foremost biographers and a leading political historian of the Civil War period, Donald has written a thorough and fascinating account of Lincoln's rise from obscurity to prominence as a lawyer and state politician, then to national political leadership, and finally to martyrdom at the moment of triumph in the war. All along the way, Lincoln had friends who saw something special in this "self-made man" and assisted him in his career. Driven by an intense desire for recognition, Lincoln never let his burning ambition overcome his fairness and honesty in dealing with people. Even many of Lincoln's critics during the Civil War, while charging him with incompetence, "imbecility," slowness, and other absurd epithets, conceded that he was honest and well meaning.

There are no major surprises in this biography. However, Donald, the first scholar to make extensive use of the Lincoln Legal Papers, provides a number of new and important insights into Lincoln's life. He stresses Lincoln's commitment to "cold, calculating, unimpassioned reason" in his law practice and public affairs. Lincoln feared social disorder, a fear that greatly motivated him during the war to seek the speedy and liberal restoration of the South to the Union once the rebels had laid down their arms. Still, Lincoln could feel intense moral passion in his opposition to slavery, which, beginning in the mid-1850s, he frequently expressed both privately and publicly. As president, he came increasingly to believe that a higher power controlled events and, with purposes unknown to individuals, shaped the destiny of people and nations. Donald writes that reading the Bible "reinforced Lincoln's long-held belief in the doctrine of necessity, a belief that admirably fitted the needs of his essentially passive personality." This comforting, albeit fatalistic, doctrine allowed the president to live with himself by shifting some of the responsibility for the suffering caused by the war. Yet, like many Calvinists who believed in predestination, Lincoln's fatalism was the wellspring of some of his most endearing traits: his compassion, his tolerance, his

antislavery sentiments. Indeed, Lincoln attributed his final decision on emancipation to a sign given by God in the form of the Union victory at Antietam.

Despite his willingness to seek God's purpose, Lincoln, according to Donald, was always reluctant to be out in front of public opinion or assume a position from which there could be no retreat (emancipation proved an exception). Ever cautious, Donald's Lincoln, reflecting "the essential passivity of his nature, was reluctant to take the initiative or act boldly." This assessment perhaps is unfair. After all, Lincoln from the beginning boldly stood by the preservation of the full Union during the secession crisis; he acted against slavery when success was possible; and he took an early initiative in reconstruction policy that was severely criticized by members of his party. Donald places too much credence in Lincoln's declaration that "I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me." Donald's excellent account of Lincoln's presidency actually demonstrates the reverse. In the management of a war requiring great political skill and a clear understanding of military objectives, Donald describes a president who, despite strong opposition in the North, mastered all of the difficulties in the achievement of Union objectives in the conflict. Lincoln did not succeed by being a passive leader.

Both the student of the Civil War and the general reader will enjoy this marvelous biography of America's greatest statesman.

William C. Harris

North Carolina State University

Pickett, Leader of the Charge: A Biography of General George E. Pickett, C.S.A. By Edward G. Longacre. (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Publishing Co., 1995. Illustrations, maps, preface, acknowledgments, endnotes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiii, 242. $29.95.)

Surprisingly, the life and military career of Confederate General George E. Pickett has received little attention from modern historians. While numerous popular writers and scholars focused on more renowned officers such as Thomas J. Jackson and J. E. B. Stuart, Pickett has remained shrouded in mythology. His fame stems primarily from the acclaim he received for leading the failed Confederate charge at Gettysburg. Edward Longacre, a historian who has written extensively on Civil War topics, attempts to strip away the myths about Pickett in order to construct a realistic account of the general's life.

The first scholarly biography of Pickett, Longacre's work fills a significant void in the study of Confederate military leadership. The author contends that several officers who served with Pickett deliberately distorted the general's military record after the war. He comes across as "incompetent, even cowardly" in the memoirs of these officers who disliked him for his "flamboyant personality" and who may have resented his notoriety after Gettysburg. After Pickett's death, his wife, La Salle Corbell Pickett, published letters she fraudulently attributed to her husband. The letters portray Pickett as flawlessly heroic.

Longacre, however, depicts him as neither a hero nor a buffoon, but rather as a competent, hard-fighting officer whose performance in battle could be erratic. Longacre details Pickett's formative years as the member of an elite Richmond family, narrates his unimpressive West Point career, and describes his rise through the ranks of the antebellum army. But he devotes most of the book to Pickett's Civil War career.

An examination of Pickett's performance in battle and an emphasis on combat history make *Pickett* an excellent source for the military historian. The author, furthermore, offers

an impartial analysis of the general's actions during the Gettysburg charge. Woven into the narrative are details of his personal life, especially those dealing with Pickett's relationship with his third wife, who was twenty-three years younger than he. Extensive research, including the use of authentic Pickett letters hitherto unpublished, forms a sound basis for Longacre's work. *Pickett, Leader of the Charge* is a well-written book that will be of great interest to Civil War specialists and laymen alike.

James S. Humphreys

Sampson Community College

Citizen Sherman: A Life of William Tecumseh Sherman. By Michael Fellman. (New York: Random House, 1995. Preface, abbreviations, notes, index. Pp. xi, 486. $30.00.)

Tortured by his past failures, William Tecumseh Sherman sought vindication through military success, through most notably his formulation and implementation of "total war" against the South. His scorched earth policy and its associated military triumphs led to his lionization. Dividing Sherman's life in three phases—Humiliation, Transformation, and Fame—Michael Fellman traces Sherman's depressive nature from his traumatic childhood, to his marriage, and the death of his young son. His public life is treated through a discussion of his business ventures, his role in the Civil War, and his involvement in the Grant administration. His inner turmoil was a double-edged sword—one side leading to severe bouts of depression and the other providing the necessary stimulus for creativity as a military tactician and strategist. Fellman shows the reader Sherman's anti-democractic views, his code of honor, his concept of war, his anti-Semitism, and his racism. It was racism toward blacks that not only affected his initial involvement in the Civil War but also contributed to his blatant disregard of Lincoln's orders with respect to the recruitment and deployment of colored troops. Sherman used Social Darwinism as a justification for the extermination of the Plains Indians. To his credit, near the end of his life, Sherman changed his attitude toward blacks. Unfortunately, he retained his prejudice toward Indians. He was profoundly affected physically and emotionally by a wide range of influences: Victorian sexual values, ideals of family and masculinity, the loss of a child, his narrow circle of friends, and his conspiracy theories. Sherman was extremely antithetical toward his wife's Catholicism, and her efforts to convert him adversely affected their relationship. Fame, while bringing its rewards, had its trials and tribulations for Sherman. While fame allowed him to pursue private pleasures (notably sexual liaisons), his volatile and explosive nature reinforced by his code of honor frequently led him to public battles.

Fellman highlights Sherman's interaction with the press. At critical times in his military career, the press was used by Sherman's enemies in an attempt to discredit and destroy him; and, in turn, Sherman would use the press to avenge himself. For those interested in the Civil War, *Citizen Sherman* not only provides valuable insights into Victorian-American cultural values, it also provides a clearer picture of the emotional and intellectual makeup of William Tecumseh Sherman than given by previous biographies.

Edward Snowden

University of Guelph

"Lest We Forget": A Guide to Civil War Monuments in Maryland. By Susan Cooke Soderburg. (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Publishing Co., 1995. Acknowledgments, preface, introduction, illustrations, maps, diagrams, appendixes, glossary of terms, bibliography, index. Pp. xxxii, 195. $29.95.)

Throughout the course of the Civil War, Maryland was a state of divided loyalties. From the Baltimore riot of mid-April 1861, during which several Union soldiers died, through mid-April 1865, as the assassin of President Lincoln was shielded from capture, Southern sympathizers and sympathies always seemed to keep a preponderance of events off-balance in a border state whose citizens lived under Federally imposed martial law. Maryland provided troops to both the Union and the Confederacy, and the state was one of the great "killing grounds" of the war. Soderburg's book, an expanded version of her master's thesis, provides a thoroughly researched and well-written survey of the monuments and memorials that were erected across Maryland by military veterans groups, patriotic organizations, and by descendants of the combatants to commemorate those who either served in or supported one of the two opposing armies or were casualties of the great conflict.

The majority of Maryland's commemorative monuments are symbolic works of art erected from the 1890s through the early decades of the 1900s and not only serve as testimonials to postwar reconciliation but as educational instruments for future generations of Americans. As the popularity of war monuments increased, many established funereal monument makers and foundries broadened their scopes of work to include the manufacture of these items and supplied monuments of identical form, with some variation, to both the northern and southern states. For example, except for its stone setting, the bronze Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Baltimore, by Frederick W. Ruckstull, is identical to the Confederate Monument in Salisbury, North Carolina.

Soderburg's volume is well organized, and its introductory chapter is noteworthy in explaining the symbolism of the monuments and their intrinsic value as works of art. The state's memorials are grouped by their location into geographical regions, and most of the individual entries include a photograph. Appendixes assist the reader in locating a specific entry by its site and date of erection. Also included is a list of Maryland monuments in other states. The volume is useful for professional historians and Civil War buffs alike as a serious reference tool and as a comprehensive guidebook to significant memorials that commemorate Maryland's sons and daughters, a painful war, and the Old Line State's struggles toward reconciliation.

Raymond L. Beck

North Carolina State Capitol

African Banjo Echoes in Appalachia: A Study in Folk Traditions. By Cecelia Conway. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press for the American Folklore Society, 1995. Frontispiece, preface, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, song title index, subject index. Pp. xxviii, 394. $25.00, paper.)

Into the much explored topic of the social and ethnic roots of Appalachian culture, Cecelia Conway brings an intriguing new dimension. She sets out to demonstrate that banjo music, long emblematic of white mountain music, was actually derived from African American antecedents in the North Carolina Piedmont. In tracing the means by which such transmissions were made and the linkages between the two musical traditions, she

sheds considerable light on both North Carolina's African American and Appalachian communities, past and present.

Conway, a folklorist and film maker at Appalachian State University, has long studied the banjo music of North Carolina, and her book represents the culmination of many years of fieldwork throughout the state. She combines these skills with those of a cultural historian to trace African American musical roots—from African and West Indian banjo, fiddle, drum, and dancing styles through nineteenth-century minstrelsy—and the social contexts in which banjo music, in particular, has persisted among Piedmont blacks throughout the twentieth century.

That tradition served as the foundation for another long assumed to have been much different in source and style—the banjo music of white highlanders. Focusing on the Sugar Grove area of Ashe and Surry Counties, an early thoroughfare of transmontane migration and an active trading center, Conway argues that from the early antebellum period onward white settlers had regular contacts with African American residents and travelers. This story in itself adds a significant new dimension to the still relatively underexplored issue of race relations in the mountain South. Many of the book's richest offerings lie in Conway's intricate analyses of commonalities as evidence of the direct influences one tradition exerted on the other—methods of banjo playing (downstroking, up-picking, thumping, and "merriwanging"), rhythmic patterns, types of songs sung, and the messages and meanings of their lyrics.

It is hard to imagine a fresher or more multifaceted contribution to North Carolina's cultural history this year or a single work that contributes as much to our understanding of African American, Appalachian, and southern music and folk culture, past and present. A beautifully produced and profusely illustrated volume, *African Banjo Echoes in Appalachia* deserves a wide readership.

John C. Inscoe

University of Georgia

Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century. Edited by Mary Beth Pudup, Dwight B. Billings, and Altina L. Waller. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, tables, figures, contributors, index. Pp. ix, 391. $18.95, paper; $49.95, cloth.)

The nineteenth-century roots of Appalachia's history have more often been the subject of mythologizing than of careful historical examination. *Appalachia in the Making* successfully challenges so many stereotypes, especially those concerning the region's alleged homogeneity and "uniqueness," that its editors boldly assert that Appalachian regions and communities were little different from those elsewhere in America.

The essays are heavily weighted toward economic development and the transition to industrial capitalism. A few of them are regional in perspective. Wilma Dunaway asserts that engrossments by land speculators combined with the poverty of early settlers to exclude nearly one-half of Appalachia's households from land ownership as late as 1860 (one wishes that more documentation for this remarkable claim had been included). Paul Salstrom divides Appalachia into three subregions based on the sequence of white settlement and argues that subsequent demographic, technological, and monetary differences led to economic

variation. John Inscoe concludes that mountain whites possessed racial attitudes little different from those of their counterparts elsewhere in the South.

Three essays focus on western North Carolina. John Finger describes how the Cherokee used traditionalism and cultural accommodation to cope with the catastrophe of the removal. Gordon McKinney details the devastating impact of the Civil War on community and on economic development. Mary Anglin uses census data to reclaim the too often ignored lives of antebellum women. The remaining essays examine questions of economic development, social stratification, and the formation of elites in Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia.

These essays represent some of the best current work on nineteenth-century Appalachia. Collectively, they destroy the stereotype of the area as a culturally homogeneous region of Jeffersonian yeoman farmers. Instead, it was highly heterogeneous, riven by class, gender, race, industrialization, and even geography, open to entrepreneurial opportunities, and integrated into outside markets. Only a few of the essays bolster the editors' heady claim that the book represents a new historiographical stage in which regional studies will reintegrate Appalachia into a United States mainstream defined as a composite of its parts, perhaps because so many of the contributions summarize earlier work that did not undertake to compare Appalachia to other rural regions. Nevertheless, *Appalachia in the Making* is an important book that pioneers significant new lines of research.

H. Tyler Blethen

Western Carolina University

Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South. By Peter W. Bardaglio. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Preface, acknowledgments, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xxi, 355. $45.00.)

In *Reconstructing the Household*, Peter Bardaglio explores changes in the legal regulation of households in the South before and after the Civil War. Bardaglio examines statutes and appellate court decisions in the Confederate states that specifically concerned sexuality and family governance, including incest, miscegenation, rape, adoption, and child custody cases. Placing this legal history within a broader history of elites, the author argues that the antebellum South developed a particular form of republicanism based on a hierarchy and paternalism necessary to maintain a slave society. Southern society was governed by patriarchs who undergirded their power through sexual access to both wives and bondswomen and by prohibiting sexual relations between black men and white women. Thus, the household operated as a political institution, and its regulation was key to the entire social order. Bardaglio asserts that the Confederate states seceded from the Union, in part, to maintain their particular brand of republicanism. During Reconstruction, the southern states intervened in household regulation to an unprecedented degree. The new legal system incorporated some of the contract-based reforms initiated in the North but also buttressed the disrupted white household by putting legal clout behind race and gender supremacy. Bardaglio's fascinating overview of legal changes in the nineteenth-century South reveals how southern law developed differently than northern law, as the growing individualism of the industrializing North conflicted with the paternalism of the slave-based society.

Because of its broad scope, *Reconstructing the Household* is suggestive of many questions for future research. For example, how did domestic laws and their enforcement vary within the South? What was the relationship of the state judiciary to the local courts? What was the relationship between the legal changes made by elites and the local challenges of African Americans, working-class whites, and women to elite control? Bardaglio incorporates social history and literary sources in his analysis; however, he reads his sources primarily to illuminate the social realm of the elites. In addition, because he focuses on the state level, Bardaglio does not address the influence of African Americans and others outside of the elite structure on the governance of society through their own households, through social and political organizations, or through "disorderly" conduct. *Reconstructing the Household* is an important and suggestive start to connecting the legal power of elites to households and domestic relations.

Nan Enstad

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

The Family Saga in the South: Generations and Destinies. By Robert O. Stephens. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. Preface, introduction, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 233. $30.00.)

Family has long played an important role in the history and literature of the South. Robert O. Stephens, professor emeritus at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, has written a clear, incisive examination of the development and enduring literary form of southern family sagas. After introducing the reader to the main dramatic elements, Stephens identifies George Washington Cable's *The Grandissimes* (1880) as the first fully realized southern family saga. For Cable, the literary form of the saga created the opportunity to comment on and criticize the South through the story of intertwined white and black families. The genre continued to flourish in the twentieth century with authors such as T. S. Stribling, William Faulkner, Andrew Lytle, Eudora Welty, and Lee Smith. Stephens summarizes the story of each saga and carefully distinguishes the additions and new developments each author brought to the form.

One of the most interesting portions of the book is a chapter devoted to the growth of black family sagas. The works of Alex Haley and Toni Morrison highlight the use of history and legend in writing. With *Roots* (1976), Alex Haley introduced "faction" as a way to write the family saga. Dates and names of characters are real, but dialogue and personal thoughts are the creation of the author. Stephens points out that Haley's use of history in this manner opened his work to criticism from historians for inaccuracies. Toni Morrison's *Song of Solomon* (1977) placed emphasis on legends and the quest to discern their meanings beyond the known history within a family. The legends in Morrison's writing acquire a mythic quality, and characters search for the truth behind the legends in the same way Haley searched for his family's history in Africa.

Literature often reflects the social and political attitudes of the author, and Stephens aptly comments on the background and social setting for each. For example, the mentality and values of the 1920s and 1930s clearly appeared in the writings of T. S. Stribling.

Stephens's work provides a critical look at the development of the southern family saga and offers a summary of significant works for southern historians and literary students.

Andrea S. Ramage

University of Kentucky

The South as an American Problem. Edited by Larry J. Griffin and Don H. Doyle. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995. Preface, introduction, contributors, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

No region of the country has been so subject to self-analysis as the South, and *The South as an American Problem* is a worthy contribution to that tradition. The outcome of a seminar at Vanderbilt University, the book is composed of twelve essays that view the problems of the South through the lenses of several disciplines. Though written by twelve southerners, this is not a sequel to the landmark *I'll Take My Stand* (1930). The authors—mostly Vanderbilt faculty—address not only the region's problems but also the often uneasy relationship between the South and the rest of the nation. Race relations, economics, Reconstruction, literature, even climate are examined. While the essays share a common set of assumptions, they develop independently.

Larry Griffin's essay makes a good beginning. The South was a problem for the nation because southerners often opposed national policy and principles. For 150 years, interposition, nullification, secession, war, Jim Crow, and massive resistance characterized the southern response to national ideals. David Carlton and John Edgerton counter that the so-called "Southern problems" of racism and class paternalism were present in the North and were southern more in degree than in kind.

James Oakes argues that slavery persisted in the South partly because whites simply could not see themselves coexisting on equal terms with an inferior, alien race. Don Doyle suggests that Reconstruction was a half-hearted, doomed attempt to resolve America's "Southern problem." Economist Robert Margo asserts that postbellum economic recovery lagged because sharecropping was less efficient than gang labor. Nevertheless, the growth rate of the southern economy outpaced other regions after 1900. James Ely Jr. traces the role of the federal courts in first abetting and later dismantling segregation. According to Hugh Davis Graham, affirmative action has caused an ideological role reversal among many blacks and whites: the former defending race-based preferences, the latter arguing for color blindness. Jimmie Lewis Franklin writes that southern blacks and whites developed and shared a common culture that many contemporary African Americans are seeking to claim.

John Edgerton's hopeful and highly readable essay properly closes the volume. The present South, no longer a "problem," may offer a hint to resolving a national dilemma once thought of as regional. If the volume has a weakness it is the occasional density of its prose, which underscores a problem in American historiography—academics too often write for each other rather than the reading public. This book deserves a broader audience than it is likely to get.

Eldred E. Prince Jr.

Coastal Carolina University

Black and White Sat Down Together: The Reminiscences of an NAACP Founder, Mary White Ovington. Edited by Ralph E. Luker. (New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1995. Frontispiece, foreword, chronology, preface, illustrations, notes. Pp. xvi, 167. $19.95.)

Less than a year after Mary White Ovington resigned as chair of the NAACP's board (she continued serving the organization as its treasurer until 1947), Carl Murphy, editor of the *Baltimore Afro-American*, persuaded Ovington to share her experiences in interracial cooperation with the paper's readers. Over a period of five months, between September 1932 and February 1933, Ovington received two hundred dollars for twenty-four installments. In her previous writings, Ovington strove to educate the "white world" about the necessity for race work; in this series, however, she pitched her story to the *Afro-American*'s black middle-class constituency. Her message was timely and deliberate. The crisis of the Great Depression had exacerbated black poverty and racial violence; social justice activists were uncertain about the inclusion of African Americans in Franklin D. Roosevelt's as yet untested New Deal; and at least one prominent black leader, W. E. B. DuBois, had begun to question the strategies and goals of the NAACP (within the year, DuBois's forced resignation as editor of the *Crisis* was a fait accompli). Perhaps as a counter to these troublesome times, Ovington's carefully crafted reminiscences stressed her abiding faith in the efficacy of interracial cooperation and her steadfast commitment to achieving an integrated society.

Ovington's narrative begins with a powerful revelation. Although she came from an "abolition family," the message imparted to her at home was that ratification of the three Reconstruction era amendments had made "the Negro . . . free and a citizen." Thus, when Ovington decided to follow in the activist footsteps of her grandparents and parents, she never considered "race work," but chose, instead, settlement work among the white, working-class poor of New York City. Her awakening to the persistence of the race problem in American society unfolds in several compelling installments and culminates in her dramatic retelling of the 1908 Cosmopolitan Club dinner incident in which she was vilified in the press and received hate mail for her participation in a biracial dinner held at a New York City restaurant.

Working within the tradition of women's autobiographies, Ovington's self-effacing memoirs only hint at the critical part she played in shaping NAACP policy. Likewise, Ovington's emphasis on the importance of the collective over the individual led her to mute the tensions and jealousies that surfaced among the very powerful, but headstrong and temperamental, leaders of the several organizations engaged in race work. Readers unfamiliar with the autobiography genre might consider reading Carolyn Wedin's excellent afterword before turning to the text.

In addition to her race work, Mary White Ovington was a prolific and accomplished writer of fiction and nonfiction. Her writings, whether the more famous sociological study *Half a Man* (1911) or the lesser-known novel for children entitled *Hazel* (1913), dealt predictably with themes reflecting her life's work. Ralph Luker, the editor of *Black and White Sat Down Together*, thoughtfully includes two short, powerful examples of Ovington's early fiction, "Mary Phagan Speaks" and "The White Brute." The former, published in the *New Republic* (August 1915), was Ovington's response to the lynching of Leo Frank, and the latter, published in the *Masses* (October-November 1915), was Ovington's biting response

to the racist imagery of the "black brute" depicted in the then contemporary film *Birth of a Nation*.

Last published by the *Afro-American* in 1951 shortly after the death of Mary White Ovington, this forgotten gem is now available to a new generation of readers. Buy it, read it, and share it.

Kathleen C. Berkeley

University of North Carolina at Wilmington

Reading, Writing, and Race: The Desegregation of the Charlotte Schools. By Davison M. Douglas. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 357. $15.95, paper; $39.95, cloth.)

In 1971 Charlotte, North Carolina, found itself in the national spotlight, the focus of the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision *Swann v. Mecklenburg*, which set the national precedent for court-ordered busing to achieve school integration. Davison Douglas lived through that era, graduated from Charlotte public schools in 1974, then made his way to Yale, where he earned both a law degree and a Ph.D. under the guidance of noted historian John Blum. *Reading, Writing, and Race*, based on Douglas's dissertation, ably explores the *Swann* case as legal history and community history.

Business domination of local government provided the context for Charlotte's experiences with civil rights. In the 1950s the Queen City ranked among America's most residentially segregated places, and nearly all elected officials hailed from the wealthy white southeast sector. When the Supreme Court made its vaguely worded 1954 *Brown* decision that urged abolition of separate black and white schools, Charlotte's business-minded leaders explicitly pursued a policy of token integration, cultivating an image as one of Dixie's most forward-looking cities while deftly minimizing real change. Ironically, that same "political culture" ultimately helped to bring about genuine racial transformation. When the Court finally mandated busing specifically, Charlotte's key political leaders chose compliance rather than angry resistance that might have jeopardized the city's reputation as a good place to do business. By the mid-1970s, Charlotte schools were more thoroughly integrated than any other major urban system, and they remain a nationwide model.

Reading, Writing, and Race is not the first book to discuss Charlotte and the *Swann* case. Journalist Frye Gaillard published *The Dream Long Deferred* (1988), an engaging description of the very personal process by which community members came to embrace the Court ruling—valuable reading as a complement to Douglas's more emotionally distant volume. *Reading, Writing, and Race* likely will not be the last work on the subject, either. In his most tantalizing passages, Douglas mentions ambivalence among black Charlotteans toward the *Swann* case and the heavy price paid by African Americans as officials abruptly closed black neighborhood schools in order to avoid busing white students there. A full investigation of African American perspectives on *Swann* would add greatly to the understanding of this important episode in the history of North Carolina and the nation.

Tom Hanchett

Youngstown State University

Turning Right in the Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP. By Mary C. Brennan. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 210. $29.95.)

Turning Right in the Sixties explains and analyzes how and why Republican conservatives, between the late 1950s and the 1964 nomination of Barry Goldwater, organized a variety of individuals and groups into a coherent, unified force that captured the Republican Party and then, later, the voting majority of the country. Mary C. Brennan of Southwest Texas State University uses papers, magazines, interviews, and secondary works of supporters and opponents to write a basically sympathetic, scholarly account. In pursuing her task, the author quite appropriately documents her sources exhaustively; about one-third of the book is composed of footnotes. She writes clearly and well and therefore allows the reader to understand and evaluate her argument and evidence.

Conservatives had labored under an isolation engendered in part by being cast as extremists, not only by Democrats but also by many Republicans. The author sees several elements as the key to undertaking how conservatives emerged as a force with which to be reckoned. Above all, people at the grass roots mobilized and became a formidable voice in newsletters and other forms of communication designed to overcome the liberal bias they saw in the media. Conservative intellectuals and commentators furnished an alternative to the existing orthodoxy. Politicians, seeing these things, began to make use of them.

The author argues that the conservatives overcame these and other obstacles, including their own disagreements, by hard work and by coming together behind a basic belief in less federal government across the board in size, function, numbers, spending, and taxes. Some readers will point out that the author should do more with the race issue as a unifying factor among some of the conservatives, including Barry Goldwater. Recent biographies of Goldwater have stressed the flight of white southerners to the Republican Party and the dwindling of black support in the last twenty-five years. Dan T. Carter, in *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics* (1995), points out that Goldwater specifically appealed to southern white racism.

The author does indeed show, however, that things do not always simply happen on their own, that both leaders and followers matter, and there are things that divide and things that unite.

The question of whether this unity of conservatives was achieved on behalf of laudable goals is certainly an arguable matter, but is clear that "If there had been no Barry Goldwater, there could have been no Ronald Reagan." The followers of Goldwater pushed the Republican Party to the Right; the followers George McGovern pushed the Democratic Party to the Left. The 1960s were some kind of a decade.

Joseph P. Hobbs

North Carolina State University

Good-bye, Machiavelli: Government and American Life. By Bernard W. Wishy. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. Preface, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 364. $34.95.)

An American historian has written that the American experience in self-government can be divided into periods, which he labels the "three republics." The "first republic,"

established by the original states and the framers of the Constitution, was decentralized, rural, aristocratic, anti-egalitarian, and lasted until 1865. Emerging on the bloody fields of the Civil War, the "second republic" was dominated economically and politically by a new, urban and financial elite that spoke of "equality" and "democracy" but, in fact, practiced neither. The "third republic" began to emerge with the Vietnam War and Reagan years and is deeply affected by the rapidity of technological change and the remoteness of both the government and the social and cultural elite from "the people." It is marked by increasingly sharp contradictions, ideologically, politically, and culturally. From a society governed by natural aristocrats and leaders like Washington and Adams, Americans have progressed—if that is the right word—to a society in which virtual power resides in unelected elites: lobbyists, interest groups, media and entertainment personalities.

Bernard W. Wishy is fascinated by the American experience and by what has happened to the American Dream, the "City on the Hill." His elegantly written *Good-bye, Machiavelli: Government and American Life* is an attempt to come to grips with America's experiment in self-government. Relying heavily on his encyclopedic knowledge of both secondary and primary sources, Wishy sketches in this volume of intellectual history an engrossing account of what could perhaps be called "American ambivalence."

Americans, he declares, have always maintained that their "more perfect union" was an effort to leave behind the abuses of powerful and corrupt government in Europe (thus the use of Machiavelli in the title). The Constitution was, in this sense, an attempt to establish a central government unlike other governments, a government that acted mostly in a negative sense. As M. E. Bradford has shown in his recently published *Original Intentions*, the original thirteen states hesitated long and hard before ceding certain powers to the newly created federal authority. The new states made it clear that they reserved the right to rescind their adhesions. In a real sense, the Southern Iliad of 1861-1865 was about the states reclaiming power from the central authority, and much of subsequent American history has centered on the role and size of government.

And this is what Wishy so clearly observes over our two hundred-plus-year history as a nation. Although on one hand we distrust government and feel that it is remote and unresponsive, at the same time we seemingly demand more from it.

Criticizing both contemporary political parties, Wishy suggests that liberals have become smugly isolated and obsolete in their reliance on government intervention as a panacea for every problem at every level. But conservatives, he suggests, often refuse to understand that a return to "the good old days" of strict laissez-faire individualism is not possible.

If America is to resolve its ambivalence, he says, it must return to the wellsprings of its history. Although generally pessimistic about such an occurrence, Wishy does add a postscript detailing his own ideas on reforming the political system. Most of these ideas have been written about before, and, indeed, one is left with the feeling that something or some event more drastic must intervene before real change occurs.

Boyd D. Cathey

Division of Archives and History

Dispatches from the Front: News Accounts of American Wars, 1776-1991. By Nathaniel Lande. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995. Introduction, illustrations, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. Pp. xiii, 416. $35.00.)

In *Dispatches from the Front*, Nathaniel Lande has compiled journalistic accounts covering ten of America's wars over the past two centuries, from the Revolutionary War to the Gulf War. The longest chapters deal with the Mexican War, World War I, and World War II; the shortest cover the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Civil War. Each chapter opens with a historical introduction, and each news article begins with a brief headnote introducing the text.

Lande has selected a distinguished group of writers for his book, including Stephen Crane, Ernest Hemingway, John Hersey, Marguerite Higgins, Ernie Pyle, and Harrison Salisbury, yet the editing is flawed. The chapter introductions too often provide superficial analyses and are marred by factual errors. For example, Lande confuses the population of the colonies with the number of men under arms in the Revolution and states that after the Civil War "millions of wounded men survived as amputees," a surprising number given that fewer than three million soldiers survived the war.

Although Lande presents some important pieces of writing, his omissions and lack of balance are equally striking. For instance, of the ten accounts in the Vietnam chapter, four were written prior to August 1965, while three were written after the Paris Peace Accord in 1973. Of the three remaining items, all dated 1968, only one qualifies as war correspondence, the other two being an editorial by William F. Buckley Jr. and a stateside news story about the funeral of a soldier killed in Vietnam. Thus, from August 1965 through January 1973, Lande gives the reader only one account filed by a war correspondent. Similarly, only six of seventeen World War II pieces were written after Pearl Harbor but before the German surrender.

Lande neglects to state his method for transcribing the texts, and he does not always provide citations to the original materials. While Lande has collected some important writing on America's wars, readers interested in the best war journalism would be better served by volumes on specific conflicts such as the Library of America's *Reporting World War II*.

Michael E. Stevens

State Historical Society of Wisconsin

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Any city-bred "dude" who regularly visits Cataloochee Ranch near Cataloochee Valley in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park can readily understand what drew rancher Tom Alexander Sr. to the area. Alexander arrived in the North Carolina mountains in the 1920s as a federal forest ranger, and he remained to establish the Cataloochee guest ranch and ski resort. His adventures as a rancher, forester, hunter, fisherman, and trail guide are enough to fill two lifetimes and now have been recorded in the recently (1995) and posthumously published *Mountain Fever*. In that book, Alexander's son, Tom Jr., and daughter-in-law, Jane, retired authors and national magazine editors, have collected, edited, and published his writings about the mountains and the Cataloochee region. The 120 photographs that illustrate the volume are excellent. Tom Jr. has added a preface and epilogue, and his sisters, Alice Alexander Auman and Judy Alexander Coker, have written "portraits" of their father and mother ("Miss Judy") respectively. It is gratifying to know that the Alexander descendants "have deeded Hemphill Bald and other portions of ranch forest and meadowland to a permanent conservation trust, guaranteeing that it will never be developed but will remain . . . for the benefit of the public."

Today, not all the terrain in the Cataloochee vicinity is as pristine nor the native trout as plentiful as when Tom Alexander Sr. arrived. Ranch guests who now ride horseback must venture out in organized day trips led and supervised by experienced guides and ranch hands. But no one who delights in the outdoors and visits Cataloochee can come away without an appreciation for the serenity and natural beauty that lured Tom Alexander Sr. to spend his life there and write so movingly about his experiences. One only regrets that Alexander never found the time to write more about the mountains that he knew and loved so well. Order copies of *Mountain Fever* (cloth; 162 pages; $29.95) from Bright Mountain Books, 138 Springside Road, Asheville, NC 28803.—JOE A. MOBLEY, Division of Archives and History.

A History of Railroading in Western North Carolina (1995), by Cary Franklin Poole, is based upon Elderhostel classes he taught as an administrator at Mars Hill College. Each chapter of the topically arranged book tells the story of a railroad, or related group of railroads, that flourished or ultimately foundered among the mountains. Poole covers the Class 1 carriers, such as the Southern Railway, as well as numerous logging, mining, industrial, and short lines. There are also sections on logging operations and on the Glover Machine Works, a Georgia-based locomotive builder whose products saw service in western North Carolina.

Train books sometimes go to great lengths to capture the romance of the rails but stop short of imparting much understanding of railroads as businesses or their impact upon the regions they served. Poole, however, marshals primary sources, including interviews with railroad employees and their families; secondary material; and photographs from museums, archives, and private collections into an overview that offers a respectable balance between dramatic and economic chronicle. Text and pictures convey the excitement of men and machines struggling against rugged terrain, of prosperity and communication with a world that many mountain dwellers had not known before the coming of the steel rails, and of the fortunes, no matter how modest, that disappeared when trains no longer ran. *A History of Railroading in Western North Carolina* (hardbound; 191 pages) is available from

the Overmountain Press, P.O. Box 1261, Johnson City, TN 37605. The price is $49.95.—JAN-MICHAEL POFF, Division of Archives and History.

Seasoned by Salt: A Historical Album of the Outer Banks, by Rodney Barfield, contains 150 photographs and drawings, many never before published, that portray life on North Carolina's isolated barrier islands in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Barfield, who is director of the North Carolina Maritime Museum in Beaufort, chose the subjects treated in this handsome volume based on his interviews with visitors to the museum. He has included historical narrative and lengthy captions to identify the images and set them in context. However, it is the pictures themselves that capture the romance and drama of coastal North Carolina and document the everyday communal lives of its hardy island inhabitants known as Bankers. *Seasoned by Salt* includes photographs of familiar coastal subjects, such as lighthouses, shipwrecks, and lifesaving crews, but there are also striking images of Bankers using a small boat to move their cattle to new grazing grounds and an elderly Hatteras Island woman stirring an iron pot with a stick. One section is devoted to whaling and another to the windmills that dotted the landscape of coastal North Carolina from the late eighteenth until the twentieth century. *Seasoned by Salt* (192 pages) is available for $18.95 (paper) and $34.95 (cloth) from the University of North Carolina Press, P.O. Box 2288, Chapel Hill, NC 27515-2288.—FRANCES W. KUNSTLING, Division of Archives and History.

Built in 1758 for Francis Corbin, agent for the earl of Granville, the two-story frame Cupola House in Edenton had fallen into disrepair when its last private owner contracted to sell its richly carved interior woodwork to the Brooklyn Museum in 1918. Alarmed Edentonians quickly formed what became the Cupola House Association just in time to save the second floor woodwork and the stairway. Unfortunately, the first floor paneling was lost forever to the state. The community preservation effort to save the Cupola House was probably the first of its kind in North Carolina.

In *Deliverance of a Treasure: The Cupola House Association and Its Mission*, Mary Ann Coffey and Murphy Moss, a husband and wife team, chronicle the nearly eighty-year work of the association in preserving the Cupola House, including land acquisition, capital and operational improvements, collections, adaptive use (as a tea room and public library), and fund raising. Typical accomplishments include the re-creation of a formal garden and the careful replication of the first floor woodwork. Designated a National Historic Landmark in 1970, the Cupola House serves today as a major house museum and tourist attraction.

Architectural and social historians will find this short and readable book to be a valuable reference in the history of the state's historic preservation movement. Available for $10.00, plus $2.00 for postage and tax, this 76-page paperback book can be ordered from the Cupola House Association, P.O. Box 311, Edenton, NC 27932.—DAVID L. S. BROOK, Division of Archives and History.

Scotland County Emerging, 1750-1900: The History of a Small Section of North Carolina, by Joyce M. Gibson, provides at last a thorough historical account of an area of the state too long neglected. Based on three decades of intense interest and wide-ranging research, this volume traces in considerable detail the development of those portions of Anson and later Richmond Counties that would ultimately become Scotland County in 1899. By

successfully keeping her focus on the Scotland County area, though working through the records of much larger geographical and political entities, the author has overcome some very formidable problems in methodology.

Beginning in 1750 with the formation of Anson County, the volume's six chapters chronicle virtually every aspect of the Scotland County area's history prior to the twentieth century. Especially thorough and informative are the discussions of early settlement, the growth of communities, agriculture, the Civil War, and the sometimes turbulent politics.

The usefulness of this work is further enhanced by a wide assortment of maps, various illustrations, and nearly one hundred photographs. Copies of this 253-page clothbound book are available from the author at 14921 McFarland Road, Laurel Hill, NC 28351, for $36.00, plus postage and tax.—WILSON ANGLEY, Division of Archives and History.

Sarah Manning Pope and Emily Newman Weil recently published *Postcards of Old Wayne County, NC*, which delivers a superior history lesson about Wayne County. Interesting and colorful postcards from Goldsboro, Mount Olive, Fremont, Seven Springs, Pikeville, Dudley, Crescent Lake and Woodland Lake, and the Neuse River provide a glimpse of Wayne County in a more rural time. The postcards included, such as those of churches, historic residences, local businesses, and hospitals, are informative and well organized. The authors provide information about the image at the time the photo was taken and what has since transpired at that location. Whenever possible, the postmark information is provided to give readers an exact date of the postcard. In the ever-changing landscape of a growing county, *Postcards of Old Wayne County, NC* provides a marvelous record of the history and architectural development of Wayne County.

Complementing the book is a "mini" gazetteer listing the communities of Wayne County from which no postcards were located. Also, a map of the entire county is included. Order the 67-page paperback book from the Wayne County Historical Association, P.O. Box 665, Goldsboro, NC 27533-0665, for $20.00 plus $3.50 for postage.—SUSAN M. TRIMBLE, Division of Archives and History.

In the preface of his exhaustive book about the Ragan family, Charlotte businessman Robert Allison Ragan expresses the hope that the volume "might be useful, at least to future historians." *The Ragans of Gastonia, 1790-1995* is principally the story of George Washington Ragan (1846-1936) and his son, Caldwell Ragan (1898-1991), textile leaders and respectively, the author's grandfather and father. The writer enlivens this thoroughly respectful account of the two textile magnates and their extended families with numerous anecdotes and asides. Previously the compiler of two privately published volumes devoted more broadly to the textile industry in Gaston County, R. A. Ragan concedes that the story could easily be that of a hundred other textile leaders.

At his death in 1936, George W. Ragan, who had founded the first of his many cotton mills in 1893, left an estate valued at almost three million dollars. Son Caldwell sold the family business to J. P. Stevens in 1946 but maintained a leadership role in the industry until his retirement in 1965. The book, packed with family stories, is commended for its details about lives of privilege in the South in the early and mid-twentieth century. The 568-page hardcover volume, extensively illustrated with family photographs, contains no footnotes but has a brief list of sources consulted and a complete index. Printed for the author by Heritage Printers of Charlotte, it can be ordered for $37.50 from the Gaston

County Museum of History, Box 429, Dallas, NC 28034-0429.—MICHAEL HILL, Division of Archives and History.

Douglas Herakovich, a former assistant sports information director at North Carolina State University, has authored a pair of oversized coffee-table books covering that school's football and basketball histories. *Touchdown Wolfpack: An Illustrated History of N.C. State Football* and *Pack Pride: The History of N.C. State Basketball* contain a wealth of photographs, augmented with well-researched, if occasionally partisan prose. Herakovich traces N.C. State's football and basketball histories chronologically, wisely using sidebars both to break up the potentially monotonous text and to elaborate on subjects not easily covered in the overview. Production values are high for both books. Unfortunately, neither volume has an index, a bibliography, or a statistical appendix.

Both *Touchdown Wolfpack* (127 pp.) and *Pack Pride* (135 pp.) should be of interest not only to N.C. State sports fans but also, because of the large amount of research information compiled by the author, to libraries and sport historians. These books can be ordered from the publisher, Yesterday's Future, P.O. Box 5771, Cary, NC 27512 for $39.95 each. The price includes postage but North Carolina residents should add 6 percent for sales tax.—JIM L. SUMNER, Division of Archives and History.

As the nation's oldest state-supported institution of higher education, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has a rich history that is reflected not only in its well-known public buildings but also in its University Archives. Although a full-time archivist was not appointed until 1967, a significant body of research materials had already been preserved by chance and by design. For over twenty years after the archivist's appointment, however, resources remained inadequate to permit a systematic approach to appraising, scheduling, and transferring records. As the holdings of the archives more than doubled and usage increased almost fourfold during the 1980s, it became evident that additional support had to be found.

Thanks to a federal grant and special university funding, the University Archives recently completed a records survey and scheduling project for approximately twelve hundred offices that should insure the future preservation of historically valuable materials. The project also resulted in the publication of *In the Course of Business: Records Management Manual of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill* (186 pp.), a records management manual described as "a working, rather than a polished, volume." With its wide-ranging policy statements, procedural guidelines, and reproductions of relevant federal, state, and university regulations, the manual can easily serve as a reference source for archivists at other colleges and universities and as a model for those contemplating such a manual. *Records Management Seminar for the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, November 1994*, by Thomas Wilds, an internationally known records management consultant, was prepared to accompany a seminar for university staff on implementing the records management program. It too can be applied in a variety of situations.

Another federal grant led to the creation of cataloging records for almost two hundred archival record groups. The descriptions, which are also accessible through the OCLC library database, were adapted for the archives' published guide, *A Guide to the Archives of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill* (102 pp.), and provide such information as

succinct but helpful agency histories, notes about the nature of the records, and references to related collections.

The *Guide to the Archives* and *Records Management Seminar* are free and can be obtained by writing to the Manuscripts Department, Wilson Library, CB 3926, UNC, Chapel Hill, NC 27514. *In the Course of Business* is not currently available in printed form but can be accessed in electronic format on the library's WEB-site.—ROBIN BRABHAM, University of North Carolina at Charlotte.

When John Sitgreaves Green commenced arranging, indexing, and transcribing the early legislative journals and papers of South Carolina in 1850, he sometimes "found the journals so difficult to read that he had 'to revive the MS before it could be copied.' " In *South Carolina Begins: The Records of a Proprietary Colony, 1663-1721*, a splendid volume of bibliographical, historical, and, to some extent, historiographical essays, Charles H. Lesser has not managed actually to "revive" the records created by or relating to South Carolina's proprietary period, but he has come as close as one can to achieving so desirable a goal. This is especially the case in Lesser's description of, and finding aid to, the state's probate records dating from 1671 to 1721. In writing his historical essay concerning the records of the Lords Proprietors themselves, Lesser is careful to take their point of view into consideration. By doing so, he has joined that very small and very select company of historians who have been able to bridge the chasm in the seventeenth-century history of the two Carolinas that has generally been widened, not narrowed, by their respective historians. All of the essays are written with humor and great affection for the subject. All are characterized by an almost incredible wealth of detail drawn from a myriad of obscure sources, which enables Lesser to speak familiarly and with authority of seventeenth-century figures who have come down to posterity as little more than mist-shrouded names, of historical events that have been frequently but half understood, of the records arising from those lives and events, of record-keeping practices that had been all but lost, and of South Carolina's never fully realized dream of perpetuating its permanently valuable records through transcription and publication. This thoroughly footnoted, well-illustrated, and highly instructive book is a joy to read. It is not only truly necessary reading for those who are seriously interested in the state's early records and record-keeping practices, but it is also absolutely necessary reading for all historians interested in the pre-1721 history of South Carolina and the pre-1712 history of North Carolina. Copies of *South Carolina Begins* (530 pp., 1995) are available for $50.00 plus $3.00 for postage from the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, P.O. Box 11669, Capital Station, Columbia, SC 29211.—GEORGE STEVENSON, Division of Archives and History.

In 1995 the South Carolina Historical Society published a revised and updated register of South Carolinians who died in Confederate service, accounting for 18,666 casualties. Thirteen percent of the white males in the Palmetto State died during the course of the war. This compilation, aptly entitled *Broken Fortunes: South Carolina Soldiers, Sailors, and Citizens Who Died in the Service of Their Country and State in the War for Southern Independence, 1861-1865*, does not include a complete record of each individual's service but rather records in a single-line layout the name, rank, company and regiment, age, place of residence in 1860, date and place of death, cause of death, burial site, and source for the

information. In that limited space the compiler imparts much of value to students of the war and to genealogists. The casual browser will note the high number of burials outside the state, for example, in Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond and in Elmira, New York, site of a prisoner-of-war camp.

Compiler Randolph W. Kirkland Jr., a retired engineer, built upon work mandated by the state in 1862 and assembled initially by newspaper editor William B. Johnston and Professor William J. Rivers, both of Columbia. In appendixes, Kirkland recounts the difficulties faced by his nineteenth-century predecessors in completing such a register. Kirkland estimates that upwards of twenty-five hundred additional names yet to be researched also belong in the roster. The 413-page, large format, hardbound volume, which includes portraits on the endsheets and the jacket, can be ordered from the South Carolina Historical Society, Fireproof Building, 100 Meeting Street, Charleston, SC 29401-2299. The cost is $40.00 plus $3.00 for postage.—MICHAEL HILL, Division of Archives and History.

Seventy years ago the Commonwealth of Virginia pioneered the concept of marking alongside highways important places, people, and events, Other states soon followed, including North Carolina in 1935. It is no surprise that Virginia was the first to devise a program mixing history and tourism, scholarship and parochialism. Virginians, after all, have been the stewards of much of American history. To date, Virginia has erected in excess of sixteen hundred markers, over 20 percent of which are no longer in place. Areas that have experienced extensive development, such as northern Virginia and the Tidewater region, have lost the most markers. For example, nineteen of the twenty-two signs that stood in Newport News are missing. Since 1976, when the legislature curtailed state funding, all new signs have been purchased with privately or locally raised funds.

The revised and expanded edition of *A Guidebook to Virginia's Historical Markers*, compiled by John S. Salmon and published in 1994 by the University Press of Virginia, builds upon the 1985 edition by Margaret T. Peters. The 1994 volume includes the 319 markers that no longer are standing and adds 217 markers not in the previous edition. One hundred eighty-one entries are for new topics, the remainder replacements of older signs. Those new entries include seventeen markers devoted to black history and an increasing variety of twentieth-century topics. Still, Civil War and colonial subjects continue to dominate. Users of the 303-page paperbound guide, which sells for $14.95, will welcome the grid map and the three separate indexes, cross-listing the entries by title, subject, and county or independent city. Order copies from the University Press of Virginia, P.O. Box 3608, University Station, Charlottesville, VA 22903.—MICHAEL HILL, Division of Archives and History.

Judith W. McGuire, like many women of her time, kept a diary for her personal reflection and for the eyes of her descendants. Unlike the majority of those women, she chose to share her thoughts and feelings with others, publishing *Diary of a Southern Refugee during the War, by a Lady of Virginia*, in 1867.

Fortunately for historians of Confederate women and those interested in wartime Richmond, the 1995 University of Nebraska Press reprint will ensure this valuable account's greater accessibility. McGuire's diary is an important addition to the growing number of records by Southern women chronicling the war years. Her frank and insightful comments

illuminate important issues in Southern society including race, class conflict, and problems faced by refugees displaced by the war. Religion's place in society and roles played by women during the war are two themes consistently interwoven throughout her narrative.

Jean V. Berlin's introduction provides a helpful context with a brief description of the author's family background and insight into the major themes shaping the account. This volume, while well written and informative, could have benefited from footnotes throughout the diary identifying people, places, and literary references. Copies of this 360-page paperback book are available for $12.00 from the University of Nebraska Press, 312 N. 14th Street, Lincoln, NE 68588-0484.—KATRIN D. HARDIKAR, Division of Archives and History.

In *The Constitutional Thought of Thomas Jefferson*, David N. Mayer examines the doctrines of the one of the most outspoken Founding Fathers. Through analysis of the " 'voluminous mass' of some 18,000 letters" that Jefferson wrote, Mayer demonstrates Jefferson's thoughts on government, law, education, and partisan politics.

Absent from the framing of both the Virginia Constitution and the Federal Constitution, Jefferson held definite opinions on the methods of government that were established by both documents. Through carefully selected correspondence, Mayer interprets Jefferson's sentiments on both the Virginia and Federal Constitutions. These doctrines, Mayer perceives, are traceable to two professors, William Small and George Wythe, at the College of William and Mary. Under their tutelage in classical studies, Jefferson's political ideology was established. Basing his philosophy on the writings of Milton, Stith, and Hume, among others, Jefferson often suggested the works to friends and prospective law students.

Mayer's study of Jefferson is a useful addition to the current scholarship on both Thomas Jefferson and the early Federal period in American history. First published in 1994 as part of their Constitutionalism and Democracy Series, this 397-page paperback edition (1995) is available for $18.50 from the University Press of Virginia, P.O. Box 3608, University Station, Charlottesville, VA 22903.—RUSSELL S. KOONTS, Division of Archives and History.

In 1970 a book was published by the University of Chicago Press that proved to be the vanguard of the emerging field of women's history. Anne Firor Scott's *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* was an important contribution to the field in its time and has remained a classic since its publication. Offering a significant challenge to the long-held notion of the southern lady as a submissive paragon, Scott used numerous diaries, letters, and interviews to "characterize the struggle of women to free themselves from the confines of cultural expectation and find a way to self-determination." Scott concluded that the image of the southern lady was greatly removed from the reality of women's lives and that southern women actively influenced their society.

The twenty-fifth anniversary edition published by the University Press of Virginia in 1995 includes an enlightening essay by Scott titled "The Southern Lady Revisited," which provides the unique vision of a historian reviewing her own work. Years later, Scott determined that she would change little were she writing the same book today. Most significantly, she found that *The Southern Lady* "described a world seen through the eyes of the white people" and should include the views of more African American women.

This 312-page paperback edition offers a preface, acknowledgments for both editions, photographs, afterword, bibliographical essay, and index. Order copies ($12.95) from the University Press of Virginia, P.O. Box 3608, University Station, Charlottesville, VA 22903.—DEBRA A. BLAKE, Division of Archives and History.

New, paperbound editions of two significant books about the American South have been issued recently. The University of North Carolina Press has published a soft-cover version (1995) of John Egerton's *Speak Now against the Day: The Generation before the Civil Rights Movement in the South*. Originally published in hardback by Alfred A. Knopf in 1994, the award-winning volume (704 pages; illustrations; index) provides a thorough and engaging account of the events of 1932-1954 in the South that culminated in the onset of the Civil Rights movement. HarperPerennial, a division of HarperCollins Publishers, also has produced a paperback copy (1995) of Dewey W. Grantham's *The South in Modern America: A Region at Odds*, which first appeared in hard-cover in 1994. As a volume in the well-respected New American Nation Series published by HarperCollins, *The South in Modern America* (359 pages; illustrations; index) provides an excellent survey of the history of the South from the end of Reconstruction to the 1980s. Both books are substantial contributions to the historiography of the region, and these less-expensive, paperbound versions make them accessible to a large reading audience. Order *Speak Now against the Day* ($18.95) from the University of North Carolina Press, P.O. Box 2288, Chapel Hill, NC 27515-2288. Request *The South in Modern America* ($15.00) from HarperCollins Publishers, 10 East 53rd Street, New York, NY 10022.—JOE A. MOBLEY, Division of Archives and History.

Published in Chapel Hill by author George Johnson Jr., *Rose O'Neale Greenhow and the Blockade Runners* is, according to the preface, "a pictorial tale of a Civil War heroine and the war at sea" and was presented first as an address to the Southern Association for Vascular Surgery. In the 124 pages of the volume there are ninety-four illustrations that range from often-used maps of the blockaded North Carolina coast to rarely seen watercolors of blockade-runners from the St. George Historical Museum in Bermuda. The text is not footnoted, however, and skates over the surface of the described events. Exciting elements such as blockade-runners, beautiful spies, and the treacherous North Carolina coast combined for a complex series of events in an era filled with equally extraordinary happenings. Such complexity deserves a thorough delivery of the facts available in the many primary sources extant on both subjects, yet most of the works listed in the bibliography are well-used secondary sources. Combined in an appendix are picture credits, which would far better serve their purpose under the illustrations, and source notes that serve as footnotes and, frequently, as supplemental text. *Rose O'Neale Greenhow and the Blockade Runners* will appeal to the casual reader, but scholars will find little of value in the book.

Available from Rose, P.O. Box 3001, Chapel Hill, NC 27515, the cost is $20.00. All proceeds will be used to help establish a distinguished professorship at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.—DEBRA A. BLAKE, Division of Archives and History.

First issued in 1987, Michal R. Belknap's *Federal Law and Southern Order: Racial Violence and Constitutional Conflict in the Post-*Brown *South* has been published in paperback by the University of Georgia Press. In this volume, Belknap examines the federal government's

response to anti-civil rights violence in the South from the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision to the late 1960s. While the major events of the Civil Rights movement and the violent reactions to them are described, the emphasis is on the evolution of federal policy in dealing with matters that were traditionally within the realm of state and local law enforcement. Belknap is critical of the federal government's reluctance to combat violence in the South, pointing out that Washington responded adequately only when intense public pressure in the mid-1960s could not be ignored.

The paperback edition includes a new preface containing a description of developments related to anti-civil rights violence since 1987 and a discussion of recent relevant publications. Copies of this book (416 pages, notes, bibliographical essay, index) are available from the University of Georgia Press, 330 Research Drive, Athens, GA 30602-4901. The cost is $20.00, plus $3.00 shipping and handling.—LANG BARADELL, Division of Archives and History.

The University of Nebraska Press has recently issued a new paperback edition of *From the Cannon's Mouth: The Civil War Letters of General Alpheus S. Williams*, which was first published in 1959. Despite a colorful and varied pre–Civil War life, Alpheus S. Williams is best remembered for his service in the Army of the Potomac and later as commander of the Twentieth Corps during Sherman's Carolina Campaign. Affectionately nicknamed "Pap" by his soldiers, he served the Union cause well and faithfully for four long years. Throughout the war, the widowed Williams carried on a regular and insightful correspondence with his son and two daughters. His observations on events and candid comments about those with whom he served are both informative and entertaining.

With the exception of two fine introductions, a short preface preceding each chapter, and helpful chapter endnotes, the work is composed almost entirely of transcriptions of Williams's wartime letters. His style is a curious blend of the formal and informal. When describing his unit's activities, Williams's letters read like an official military report. On less formal matters, he writes in the casual style expected in personal correspondence. Some letters are lengthy and richly detailed, while others are quite concise and disappointingly general in nature.

Overall, this is fascinating reading from the pen of an underrated general who cared little for self-aggrandizement or for the insufferable glory-seeking of others. *From the Cannon's Mouth* is available for $15.00 from the University of Nebraska Press, 312 N. 14th Street, Lincoln, NE 68588-0484.—SION H. HARRINGTON III, Division of Archives and History.

In 1995 Brown Thrasher Books, a division of the University of Georgia Press, issued paperbound reprints of two important books related to the history of the South. Mary R. Bullard's *Robert Stafford of Cumberland Island: Growth of a Planter*, which was first published in 1986, recounts the career of the wealthy Georgia Sea Island planter Robert Stafford. The volume explores the day-to-day operations of Stafford's plantation and his relationship to events leading to the Civil War. In *The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequence Since 1945*, which was first published in 1976, Jack Bass and Walter De Vries discuss the political changes—including the rise of the Republican Party and voter participation by African Americans—that have occurred in the South since World War II. In their new preface to the soft-cover edition, the authors provide an analysis

of the 1994 midterm elections and excerpts from their 1974 interviews with Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich. Order *Robert Stafford* (357 pages; illustrations; $19.95) and *Transformation of Southern Politics* (527 pages; $24.95) from the University of Georgia Press, 330 Research Drive, Athens, GA 30602-4901.—JOE A. MOBLEY, Division of Archives and History.

In *Colonel Grenfell's Wars: The Life of a Soldier of Fortune*, Stephen Z. Starr presents a comprehensive look at a colorful Englishman who loved adventure. Col. George St. Leger Grenfell was a true soldier of fortune who spent a good number of years fighting in many exotic places around the world. His most noteworthy activity occurred when he cast his lot with the Confederate cause in 1862. In April 1862 he arrived in Charleston and shortly thereafter assisted three outstanding cavalry commanders of the Civil War—John Hunt Morgan, Basil Duke, and J. E. B. Stuart. This point alone would make the book interesting to Civil War readers. However, this portion of the book is rather weak in description. The life of a cavalryman, however, is vividly described through the eyes of a man who became the adjutant of the Second Kentucky Cavalry. Grenfell was involved in raids, even though he believed such activity would not win the conflict. He also had contact with Gen. Braxton Bragg and served as his aide. Rather than return to England, he offered his services to the United States War Department on May 9, 1864. This was a deceptive ploy because Grenfell maintained his loyalty to the South and became involved in secret societies around Chicago. The antiwar movement had a strong appeal but collapsed easily, and Grenfell was among those who were arrested and charged with attempting to overthrow the government. The section dealing with the plans to establish the Northwest Confederacy is well written and offers new insights. Grenfell was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was sent to Fort Jefferson near the Florida Keys to join Dr. Samuel Mudd and the John Wilkes Booth conspirators. After twenty-six months of horrible treatment and service assisting yellow fever victims, Grenfell made an unsuccessful attempt to escape.

The colonel was a legendary figure who had contact with many important leaders of the South and the North. He was a man of conviction and dearly loved adventure. Starr's use of Grenfell's diary and various letters makes this biography a timely study of an important era in the nation's history. First published in 1971, this new, 352-page, paperback edition is available for $14.95 from Louisiana State University Press, P.O. Box 25053, Baton Rouge, LA 70894-5053.—W. DAVIS WATERS, Division of Archives and History.

Don Oberdorfer's *Princeton University: The First 250 Years*, a lively and handsomely illustrated history of Princeton issued as a part of the university's 250th birthday celebration, is a coffee-table book that its alumni will love and that anyone interested in American higher education will enjoy. More influential under the leadership of its Scotland-born president, John Witherspoon, at the time of the American Revolution than it was in the first half or so of the nineteenth century, the College of New Jersey dozed until another Scotsman, James McCosh, arrived in 1868 to begin a transformation of the institution. That the poor library was kept open only one hour a week when McCosh first came is a small but telling indicator of the nature of the college. Vast improvements in its academic strength marked the two decades of McCosh's presidency.

With its name changed to Princeton University in 1896 and with the establishment of its graduate school of arts and sciences in 1901, Princeton underwent even more striking

changes after Woodrow Wilson became, in 1902, the first layman, albeit a devout Presbyterian, to serve as president. Although he succeeded in reforming the curriculum and invigorating the teaching program through the introduction of the preceptorial system, Wilson lost important battles concerning residential life and the location and nature of the graduate college. Consequently, he resigned to become, first, the Democratic governor of New Jersey and then president of the United States. In the 1980s, a modified version of Wilson's plan for residential colleges for all first- and second-year students was begun. Admitting women in 1969, Princeton was no longer what alumnus F. Scott Fitzgerald (class of 1917) had called "the pleasantest country club in America," but one of the nation's premiere and most distinctive research universities.

Princeton University: The First 250 Years (272 pages; hardbound) is available for $69.50 from Princeton University Press, 41 William Street, Princeton, NJ 08540.—ROBERT F. DURDEN, Duke University.

EDITORIAL POLICY

The editors of the *North Carolina Historical Review* and the Advisory Editorial Committee seek to publish articles and annotated documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent states. The editors and the committee consider originality of material and interpretation, sources, clarity of thought, style, and interests of readers. Materials primarily genealogical are not accepted.

Authors should submit for consideration two copies of their manuscripts and retain a copy for security. Text and notes must be double-spaced, and the latter should appear on separate sheets at the end of the essay. Authors should submit an additional copy of papers accepted for publication on PC-compatible diskette. The journal follows *The Chicago Manual of Style*, fourteenth edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), in matters of capitalization, punctuation, abbreviation, citation, and the like. The editors will provide an abbreviated guide upon request.

The editors wish to receive for review nonfiction books relating to North Carolina and southern history. Send articles to be considered for publication and books for review to the Historical Publications Section, Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27601-2807.

The North Carolina Division of Archives and History

A Division of the Department of Cultural Resources

Established 1903 as North Carolina Historical Commission; name changed to Division of Archives and History in 1973. Responsible for administering North Carolina Archives and History Act (G.S. 121). Legally required to "promote and encourage throughout the State knowledge and appreciation of North Carolina history. . . ." State agency supported by tax funds. Administrative agency for the North Carolina Historical Commission, a board of eleven members appointed by governor; staff of over 250. Administers North Carolina Highway Historical Marker Program, Stagville Preservation Center, and Western Office at Asheville. Address: Archives and History-State Library Building, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27601-2807.

Jeffrey J. Crow, *Director*
Larry G. Misenheimer, *Deputy Director*

Archaeology and Historic Preservation Section (State Historic Preservation Office). Conducts a statewide program to identify, evaluate, enhance, and protect places significant in North Carolina history and archaeology. Directs the statewide survey of historic buildings and archaeological sites. Coordinates nominations to the National Register of Historic Places. Provides technical assistance to private and public owners of historic and archaeological properties and to local historic preservation commissions. Reviews state and federal actions affecting historic and archaeological properties. Promotes preservation planning and education. Administers an underwater archaeological program. Operates archaeology laboratories in Raleigh and Fort Fisher and maintains regional offices in Greenville and Asheville.

David Brook, *Administrator*

Archives and Records Section. Conducts statewide archival and records management programs. Preserves official records of state, counties, municipalities, and other records of historical significance, including private manuscripts and photographs. Preserves records and collects information concerning General Assembly of North Carolina. Prepares records retention and disposition schedules for state agencies and houses semicurrent state records in State Records Center. Operates technical services program for document restoration and microfilming and photographic services program. Archives Search Room open 8:00-5:30 Tuesday-Friday and 9:00-5:00 Saturday.

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Historical Publications Section. Publishes documentary volumes, books, maps, charts; quarterly *North Carolina Historical Review*; bimonthly *Carolina Comments*. Two major ongoing projects include the editing and publication of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (second series) and *North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865*, a comprehensive Civil War roster. Complete list of titles, with prices, available upon request. Special terms for book dealers.

Joe A. Mobley, *Administrator*

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